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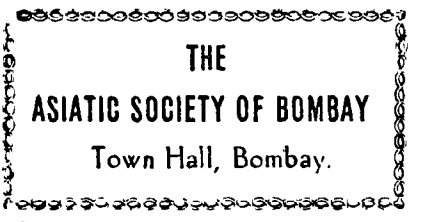

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A FORBIDDEN LAND:

VOYAGES TO THE COREA.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

ITS GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, PRODUCTIONS, AND COMMERCIAL CAPABILITIES, &c., &c.

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BY

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TO HIS MAJESTY

DOM PEDRO II.,

EMPEROR OF BRAZIL,

WHOSE PATRONAGE HAS SO GREATLY CONTRIBUTED

TO PROMOTE AND ASSIST THE

LABOURS OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCE,

This Work

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In submitting this book to the public, the author wishes it to be distinctly understood that all he claims for his work is that it may be considered what it is intended to be—a missing, though as yet incomplete link in the researches of one of the most interesting countries of the great Asiatic Continent. With this object he combines the hope to be able to direct the attention of the public at large to the anomalous state in which this country has so long and so successfully maintained itself, and to contribute his share in having those obstacles removed at last which hitherto have prevented foreigners from entering its gates.

The scanty and shadowy accounts which have from time to time appeared, and still occasionally appear in journals and periodicals, on the peninsula forming the kingdom of Corea, have scarcely been able to contribute much to the extension of general knowledge on this subject. And there are yet many people pretending to be called well educated in other respects, whose notions about the existence and the position of the country are so vague and in-

distinct as to make them search for the same somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Himalaya, or amongst the island groups of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Notwithstanding the great pains the author has taken to render his account of the Corea in all respects as complete as possible, no one can be more alive to the many faults and shortcomings which this book still contains. On the other hand, he has been painfully careful to avoid the flight of fiction and imagination so often met with in works of travel, or to write and describe nothing but what he has personally seen and experienced, or knows from undoubted authority to be positively true.

Little need be said of those chapters containing the geographical, historical, and other parts. There exists as yet no foreign map of the Corea which can lay claim to anything like correctness, and for this reason the author has abstained from attaching one to this work. The best in existence, and the one approaching nearest to correctness, is to be found in the last cartographical work published by the late Dr. A. Petermann, of Gotha. Nor is this want likely to be supplied until foreigners are furnished with the opportunity to extend their study to the topography of the country itself.

In the chapters giving an account of the voyages undertaken by him, the author has been compelled to speak more frequently of himself in the first person than he could have desired. For the sake of

a more vivid description, especially in the dialogical parts, this has been found unavoidable; and he trusts that this reason may be taken as a sufficient apology for the frequent appearance of the word "I."

The first and second voyages call hardly for any remark in this place. As to the third, about which a good deal more might be said here, the author can only give a renewed expression of regret that it has not been crowned with the desired success—a result which at the time would likely have gained him the approval even of those who have tried, by accounts amusing as well as ludicrous by the utter ignorance they displayed on the affair, to disparage the proceedings. He has no patience with that class of people who, like Mrs. Jellyby, only think of providing woollen stockings for Niggers and Hottentots, while they have no heart for their own poor at home; whose fine moral sense is hurt at the idea of wounding the feelings of a bloodthirsty tyrant, even if a great end is thereby to be gained, while they do not think it necessary to give a thought to the sufferings of the many thousands murdered by his orders. He is no advocate of that kid-glove policy, nowhere more out of place than in the treatment of Asiatics, and which, in China for instance, has been most detrimental to foreign interests. This system of fawning to officials and of Mandarin worship will always and invariably lead to one result only—to an overbearing manner on the part of those who mistake kindness

for weakness, to subsequent differences, and finally to war.

Probably at no distant period those Powers which have an interest at stake in Eastern Asia will be compelled, with or against their will, to take into consideration what may be termed the Corean question—we may hope ere it is too late. The whole of the East Coast as far as the Tumen is already in the possession of Russia; a very small army and a few war-vessels are all that is required to occupy and hold permanently the Corean peninsula; and if Russia chooses, she may at any moment make herself master of the entire Eastern Coast of Asia down to the Sea of Japan. And rather than see the present state of things continue, it might be preferable to have the Corea taken possession of by Russia; at all events, it would then be made accessible, and cease to continue a mockery to the world.

October, 1879.

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„ Western Entrance, Kang-Kiang.

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COREA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, ETHNOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

Introductory remarks—Scanty knowledge of Corea—Difficulty of obtaining reliable information—Old writings and sources—Origin of the name of Corea—Ignorance of the natives as to their descent—Difference of races—Siebold's remarks on this subject—Characteristic marks of difference in race—Striking appearance of the same on children—Conjecture on the origin of the two races—Corean traditions of their origin—The Legend of Prince Kaokiuli—Present frontiers of the country—Its geographical position—The Islands—Quelpart, Kangwha, Ollonto, absurd account of the latter current in Corea—The provinces and their division—The last census—Inaccuracy of the same—Actual number of population—Mountains—Rivers—Towns—The capital city Saoul.

In the most easterly part of the Asiatic continent, separated from the Chinese Empire by the great Yalou River and by a formidable mountain range, called the "Tchan pe chang, or Pe theŭ shan" (the Whiteheaded Mountains,) a large peninsula, forming the present kingdom of Corea, stretches from the 42·19 deg. N. latitude far southward to the shores of the Straits of Corea.

Our knowledge of this remarkable country, known indeed to the general public by little more than its

name, has been hitherto limited to the meagre and scanty information imparted to us by Chinese and Japanese sources. Yet Corea deserves, on account of its favourable situation and of its fine climate, of its great fertility and undeniable richness in minerals, no less attention than any other part of the great Asiatic continent. It is a strange and almost unaccountable fact, in the face of an intercourse with eastern Asia increasing and steadily developing itself year by year, that Corea, placed between two large empires like China and Japan, has hitherto been considered of so little importance, that hardly anything positive is known of it, while there can be no doubt that many new sources would by its opening be developed, which would prove as valuable to trade as to the scientific world.

Petty in extent and in the number of its inhabitants as compared with China, and considerably inferior in both respects to Japan, the kingdom of Corea equals and surpasses in both many of our more important European States. If it is strange that it should have been able to maintain so long the obsolete isolating policy of its neighbours against all Europeans, it must appear yet more remarkable that this same system of exclusiveness has for centuries past successfully been kept up against those powerful and neighbouring nations.

After having been for several thousands of years the scene of sanguinary and murderous feuds between the various races and tribes who peopled the penin-

sula, and of the intrigues and wars of conquest of its rapacious neighbours, Corea succeeded, after its final union under the sway of one ruler, but with considerable loss of territory, in driving back the invaders behind its present frontiers, enforcing since with an iron rule that policy of exclusion which has effectually separated it from the whole outer world.

It can hardly be a cause of surprise, that a system so strictly and severely carried out, combined with a reputation for inhospitality not altogether undeserved, should have been thought sufficient to deter others from any attempt to form a closer acquaintance with this country. It naturally follows —its present internal affairs and political condition being almost completely unknown even in China and Japan—that foreigners have found it next to impossible to collect any reliable information on the subject there, and Corea has remained to us like a sealed book, the contents of which we have yet to study. The government, it is true, has had its task facilitated by the inaccessible and dangerous nature of the approaches to the coast. The whole of the east coast is protected by high mountain ranges and steep rocks, while the western and southern shores are rendered extremely dangerous to access by thousands of islands, and by many banks, shoals, and reefs extending for miles into the sea, the approach to which will always require the greatest circumspection even with the best charts and surveys at hand.

As has just been observed, nearly all we have yet been able to learn about Corea has been collected from Chinese and Japanese sources; the information derived from these does not, however, go beyond the seventeenth century, and confines itself mainly to the historical and political connexion with these countries. The meagre accounts we owe to Europeans on this interesting subject originate either from shipwrecked mariners, who, like the Dutchman Henrik Hamel,[1] have been cast upon the inhospitable shores of Corea, and have there been kept imprisoned for some time, or from navigators, who, like Broughton[2] and Basil Hall,[3] have extended their voyage of discovery to these distant seas, and who have touched at a few prominent points of the coast. For the extracts and communications drawn from Chinese sources we are in the first place indebted to the renowned French Missionary Du Halde,[4] who in the fourth volume of his highly valuable work, has transmitted to us from the writings therein mentioned[5] a short and precise account of Corea, which in a good many instances

[1] Journal van de ongelukige voyagie van't Jacht de Sperwer, gedestinert na Tayawan in't Jaar 1653 Enr. dor Henrik Hamel, Rotterdam, 1668, 4to.

[2] A voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean.

[3] Account of a voyage of discovery to the West Coast of Corea.

[4] Jean Baptiste du Halde. Description de la Chine et de la grande Tartarie. 4 vols.

[5] The sources quoted by Du Halde are Tsien-kio-kiu Loui-chu, the theatre of the world, Quang-yoki, a general extract from a

MONGOLIAN RACE.—LOWER CLASS COREAN.

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holds good to this day. Deserving also of notice are the more or less important contributions by Ritter,[1] Nic. Witsen,[2] Murray Maxwell,[3] and John Macleod.[4]

To the translations of Mr. Klaproth[5] from Japanese works we owe much valuable information, and this scholar can claim well deserved credit as having been the first who has occupied himself with the Corean language in Europe. The well-known Colonel Siebold,[6] who during his protracted residence at Nagasaki had various opportunities of meeting with shipwrecked Coreans from the south, cast by storms upon the Japanese shores, took a great deal of interest in the men, and tried to get information from them of their native country—as related in his justly famed work on Japan. Of considerable value therein is a treatise on the Corean language and literature, contributed by J. Hofmann, which is more fully referred to in another place.[7]

description of the globe, and Fang-yo-ching, a work of the same class.

[1] Ritter, Description of the Globe.

[2] Nord en Oost Tartarye. 2 vols.

[3] Voyages in China, or Journal of the last Embassy to the Court of Pekin. Paris, 1818.

[4] Voyage of the English Frigate "Alceste" along the Coast of Corea to the Island of Loo-choo, by J. Macleod.

[5] Aperçu général des trois Royaumes, traduit de l'original Japonais-Chinois, par F. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1832.

[6] Nippon, by Colonel von Siebold. Leyden, 1832.

[7] Chapter v., Language.

The peninsula takes the name of Corea, by which it is at present known to us and to the Chinese, from an extinct dynasty of one of the several kingdoms of which it was formed prior to its union into one empire, the founder of which dynasty had taken the name of Korio, pronounced Kao-li by the Chinese; and there can hardly be any doubt that our denomination of Corea has sprung from this Korio.[1] When the family of the Ni (chin-Li) possessed themselves forcibly of the supreme rulership of the kingdom of Korio or Kaoli, towards the close of the 14th century, the founder of the new dynasty changed its name—with the consent of the Emperor of China, in whom at that time, by an old treaty, was vested the right of confirming the Corean kings—into Tchao-sian, or Tschao-sien, a name which had belonged, in the 12th century, to an independent portion in the north-west of the peninsula, which signifies the country nearest to the rising sun.

It is a somewhat difficult task to express an-

[1] Du Halde derives the denomination of Corea from the old Chinese name Kaoli-ly or Kaokiuly, from which, according to his view, it has arisen by mutilation. "Afterwards they all got one lord, and this great empire received the name of Kaoli-ly, which we mutilate and thereof make Corea, which we give to it." The Chinese being in itself, however, a corruption of the Corean word (the Chinese replace the letter *r*, which they cannot pronounce, by *l*), there can be little reason for doubting that the version in the text is the correct one. The Corean expressions are ㄷㅓ ㄱㅗ Kokore and ㄷㅓ ㅣ ㄱㅗ Korie or Korio, from which the Japanese word Koorai has sprung.

CAUCASIAN RACE.—SHIP-OWNER.

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opinion on the origin and descent of the different races which people the peninsula, as neither Chinese nor Corean sources are able to give a reliable account on this subject. The Coreans' reply to any question is, that they themselves do not know anything about it, and that they have altogether forgotten where they come from. This ignorance is easily accounted for by the deficiencies of their country's literature, which, as regards its own history, is very incomplete. Their physiognomy bears witness to an origin different to that of the Chinese, and has unmistakable traces of a descent from two distinct races. Of a taller and more powerful make than the natives of China and Japan, with a cast of features thoroughly pleasing, and endowed with a firm and energetic character, they remind us much more forcibly of the half-savage hordes and nomadic tribes of Mongolia and northern Asia than of the natives of the two countries just named—making, at the same time, allowance for the softening influence which has prevailed with them, as it must prevail with all races of a semi-barbarous state who, after a roving life of many years, finally settle down and exchange the rough habits of warfare and hunting for the more quiet and peaceful pursuits of agriculture and commerce. In his remarks on the shipwrecked Coreans whom he saw at Nagasaki, Colonel Siebold expresses his opinion on this point in a manner so striking and graphic, that I cannot clothe my own personal observations in language more suitable to the case in

question than he did, and shall use his own words here.[1]

"The Corean is of taller stature than the Japanese, seldom, however, exceeding five and a half feet in measure, of a strong and vigorous make, symmetrically built, robust, and nimble. His features bear in general the stamp of the Mongolian race —in the broad coarse cast of them, the prominent cheek-bones, the heavy jaw, the flat and crushed root of the nose, and wide nostrils, the rather large mouth with thick lips, the peculiar, apparently oblique formation of the eyes, the close, thick, stout, blackish hair, frequently tinged with red, the thick eyebrows, the thin beard, and a reddish-yellow, wheaten complexion, give him, at first sight, the appearance of a native of north-eastern Asia. This type is peculiar to the majority of the Coreans observed by me. The characteristic marks of two distinct races are, however, plainly discernible in their features. Whenever the root of the nose is more lofty, the nose itself is more straight-backed, the cast of features shows a nearer approach to the type of the Caucasian race, and the formation of the eye resembles more that of Europeans. In this case the cheek-bones recede, and the marked profile, which the Mongolian race does not possess, becomes more apparent. The closer the approach to the type of the former race, the less beard is observable, while the last is strongly developed with persons of the latter race. The crown of

[1] Nippon, by J. H. Siebold, vol. i.

the head is less crushed, the forehead, otherwise repressed, becomes loftier, and there is a certain nobility in the whole outward appearance, which we miss entirely in the coarse features of the Mongolians."

It admits of an easy explanation, why the features of most of those Coreans, whom Siebold has had an opportunity to observe, should have borne the characteristic type of the Mongolian race. Nearly all who have been thrown upon the shores of Japan belonged to the class of sailors and fishermen, and its type is visibly and predominantly imprinted upon the features of the islanders and the natives of the coast. But amongst these even the exception is of no rare occurrence, while the type of the race last mentioned by Siebold predominates in the interior of the country. With regard to the size mentioned by Siebold (five and a half feet), I cannot, however, agree with his statement, nor is it to be considered as correct, as the number of people exceeding this measure was the majority. I can, however, fully subscribe to his concluding remarks. The features of a very considerable portion of the natives I had an opportunity to see during my travels in the country bore an expression so noble and so marked, that they might have passed for Europeans, had they been dressed after our fashion. This was also most strikingly observant in a great number of children, whose handsome, regular features, rosy skin, blue eyes, and auburn hair really made it so difficult to distinguish them from

European children, that at first I could not account for their looks but by believing them to be of European descent—an impression which had, of course, to be abandoned as altogether false and erroneous after penetrating farther into the interior, when appearances of the same nature became of daily occurrence.

The earliest Chinese historical works on Corea date back as far as 2400 A.C., and from these we learn that the peninsula was peopled by various tribes long before the Christian era. The most noticeable of these clans were the Ut-sü (cor. Ok-tso), the Weimi (cor. Ui-mak), the Shin-han (cor. Sin-han), the Mă-han, and the Pieng-han (cor. Pieng'an), the three last of which occupied the southern part of the country, differing materially in language, habits, and customs from their northern neighbours, and were considered as branches of the same race. It may not be a wrong conjecture, which is corroborated by many outward signs, to look for the origin of the one tribe, afterwards subdivided into several, in Mongolia, which finally settled down in Corea, after roaming about and fighting its way through China; while we may take those who bear the unmistakable stamp and type of the Caucasian race to have come—they being probably descendants of the Alanes—from western Asia, whence they have been driven by feuds and revolutions. At the conclusion of the long wars which have at last led to the union of the different

MONGOLIAN RACE.—COREAN YOUTH.

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states founded by various tribes, a partial fusion has taken place, which, though it has not succeeded in eradicating the outer signs of a different descent, at least caused the adoption of one language and of the same manners and customs, several of the latter bearing to this day traces of their Mongolian origin, and for which the Coreans themselves are quite unable to account.

It may be taken for granted after this, that the opinion generally prevailing hitherto, according to which the Coreans have been set down as a branch from the Chinese people, must be considered as altogether mistaken and erroneous. The complete and total difference in the customs of the two peoples may serve as a further additional proof for the last assertion, and, taking into consideration the stubbornness and obstinacy with which Asiatics in general, and the Chinese in particular, stick to their old and traditional habits, it is more than unlikely that the Coreans of the present day alone should have abandoned them.

I have already mentioned that most of the Coreans claim to be in complete darkness and ignorance of their own origin; some declare quite seriously that their ancestors have sprung from a black cow on the shores of the Japan Sea, while others again, and notably the larger and more important families, ascribe their origin to a somewhat mysterious and supernatural cause. These legends, very seriously transmitted and related, enjoy to this

day a kind of lawful acknowledgment and recognition, as many well informed natives assert; with the lower classes, however, they find no belief, and are explained and commented upon by the people in a manner irreverent as well as prosaic.

One of these tales is rendered by Du Halde, which may follow here for curiosity's sake.

"Prince Kaokiuli had a daughter of the god Hoangho in his power, whom he kept prisoner in a house. Being one day struck by the sun, which caused her to get in the family way, she brought after a time into the world an egg as big as a bushel. Upon this egg being broken it was found to contain a male child, to whom, after it was grown up, the name of Tchumong was given, signifying 'a good marksman,' in the language of the country. The king of Kaokiuli appointed him superintendent of his stables. But Tchumong allowed the good horses to starve, while he fattened the lean ones; for the king had kept the fat horses for himself and given him the lean ones. When once out hunting, the king permitted Tchumong to kill the first game which might come in his way with an arrow; he killed however many wild beasts. On this account the king tried to get rid of him. Tchumong, noticing this, left his mother behind and fled, accompanied by the Mata. He came to a river, which was difficult to pass; meanwhile he was pursued most vehemently. 'What!' he exclaimed, 'I, a son of the sun, and a grandson of the god Hoangho, am to

CAUCASIAN RACE.—COREAN, UPPER CLASS. WINTER DRESS.

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be detained here on the river bank, unable to overcome this obstacle to my flight?' He had hardly pronounced these words when the fishes and the turtles closed firmly together, forming a bridge, over which he could pass with security. Arrived on the opposite shore, he saw three persons, one dressed in hempen clothes, the second in a knitted coat, and the third in water-plants. These united with him, and they arrived at the town of Ku'ching-kow. There he took the name of Kao as his family name, as a token that he was descended from Kaokiu-li."

It may be added here that most of the noble Corean families claim their descent from this Tchumong or Kao, and it speaks rather for the understanding of the people, to ridicule the claimants to an origin of such a dubious character.

The present frontiers of the Corean peninsula extend to the north from the mouth of the Yalou, which forms the boundary-line to the neutral territory, dividing Corea from the Chinese province of Leautong, in a north-easterly direction from the 40° to 42·19 north latitude, to the mouth of the Tumen or Tsin-hing. As intervening link between these two streams, the large mountain ranges of the Petheŭ-shan, or White-headed Mountains, possessing, as the Coreans believe, the highest peak of any mountain in the world,[1] separate Corea from the

[1] According to native account, which in Corea at least is seriously believed, the highest point of this range reaches the

empire of China. The Tumen is the southern boundary-line to the large tract of land on the east coast south of the Amoor, which formerly belonged to China, but has been ceded to Russia within the last twenty years, and it springs, like the Yalou, from the heights of the Petheŭ-shan. To the west, Corea is bordered by the Hoang-hai, or Yellow Sea, and that part of it called the Corean Archipelago, to the east by the Sea of Japan, and to the south and south-west by the Corean Straits. The southernmost point of the peninsula may be estimated, as nearly as possible, in 34·30 north lat.[1] Its greatest width is in the north, from 127·00 to 133·00 long. E. (Greenwich), narrowing considerably towards the south, where it only extends from the 129·00 to 130·10 long. east. Its length north and south is about 460 miles, its greatest width about 360, its narrowest, at the south, about 60 miles.

Innumerable large and small islands on the west, south, and east coast are subject to the undisputed sway of the Corean government. These islands, with few exceptions, are inhabited by a very numerous population, mostly consisting of fishermen and tillers of the soil. The islands on the west coast of the Corean and Impératrice Eugenie Archipelago

moderate elevation of 11 German = 44 English miles above the level of the sea!

[1] The south coast of Corea having not as yet been accurately surveyed, the exact position of the extreme southerly point of the peninsula cannot be positively fixed.

and of the Prince Jérome Gulf, are for the greater part very pretty, fertile, and are covered with fine woods, they seem to be sufficiently productive to supply the islanders, who do not keep up a very lively intercourse with the mainland, with all necessaries of life. The population I found peaceful and well disposed wherever I landed, and kept by its officials, who are deputed from the mainland, in the same state of submission and fear of the central government as the inhabitants on the continent. Many of these islands (not counting the very large ones) are of considerable size, and are peopled with several thousands of inhabitants. The island groups to the north of the west coast are much less fertile, and their population is in bad repute, on account of its inhospitality and evil disposition towards foreigners.

There are three among these many islands, which, on account of their prominent size and the great number of their inhabitants, as also owing to their importance, deserve to be specially mentioned and described. They are Kang-wha on the west coast, Quelpart, or Quelpaert, to the south, and Ollong-to on the east coast. Kang-wha, though not the largest, is the most densely populated of the three islands, and being separated from the mainland only by a very narrow branch of the Kan-kiang, may almost be considered to form part of it. It belongs to the province of Kienkei, and commands the entrances from the sea to the capital. About

160 square miles in extent, its scenery is exceedingly pretty and picturesque, its valleys and plains fertile and well cultivated, and its mountains and hills are covered with fine and large woods. The capital of the island bears the same name, and is a town of some importance. A fuller description of the island is given in another place.[1]

The largest of these three islands, Quelpart, in 33·30 north lat., is distant about sixty miles from the mainland. It is some forty miles in length from W.N.W. to E.N.E., and seventeen miles wide at its broadest point. Quelpart is a very beautiful island, and highly reputed on the continent on account of its fertility. The hills are covered with fine timber, and its large and extensive plains appear to be in a good state of cultivation. The great heat which prevails in summer in the south of Corea is generally believed to be caused by the high mountains on Quelpart Island, said to intercept the cool sea breezes which otherwise would reach the mainland. The highest peak of these mountains, Mount Auckland (called Aula by the natives), is 6600 feet above the level of the sea: its enormous masses of white rock look from a distance as if continually covered with snow. The mountains are thickly wooded with pines and a fine species of red-wood tree, much like mahogany, and shelter large herds of small wild horses, for which the island is renowned, and with which it supplies the continent.

[1] Chapter viii., Second Voyage to Corea.

MONGOLIAN RACE.—MIDDLE CLASS COREAN.

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It is densely populated, and besides a great many small townships and villages, possesses two large towns, Tsön-hui on the south-east coast, and Tsetsjn, the capital, in the north. The last lies in a broad valley, close to a considerable river. It is protected by walls with seven bastions, but the embrasures are not armed with guns. The coast offers no good place of anchorage anywhere—the only one which may be used with a certain degree of security is opposite Bullock Island. The roadsteads of both towns are badly sheltered, and are even dangerous to ships in stormy weather. Quelpart produces rice, wheat, barley, sweet potatoes, maize, turnips, and all other sorts of vegetables. Its chief industry consists in the manufacture of the beautiful straw-plait hats, which are worn all over the country, and for which the island is justly celebrated.

The population consists for the most part of agriculturists and fishermen, which, excepting the better class, has a bad name for its hostility to foreigners and for the lowness and great uncouthness of its habits. The island has served hitherto as a convict station and place of banishment for all criminals from the mother-country, and this is most likely the reason why the greater part of the inhabitants suffer under a reputation of rudeness and extreme depravity.

The third of the large islands lies on the east coast, about forty-five miles distant from the main-

land, under the 37·25 north lat. and 133·16 long. east, and is called Ollon-to by the natives. On several charts it is erroneously put down as belonging to Japan, which is not the case; generally it is marked Matusima, while the French give it the name of Dagelet, and the Russians Dagette. It is nearly round, is about twenty-five miles in circumference, but of its interior very little is known to us on account of its steep and rocky approaches and inaccessible shores. Ollon-to is very celebrated in Corea for its great fertility; it is said to produce everything of excellent quality, and of a size so uncommonly large and almost gigantic, that the natives on the continent have finally concluded, and state it as their positive conviction, that an island rearing produce so extraordinary cannot be inhabited by common human beings, but must necessarily be peopled by a race of similarly gigantic size. To complete the farce, the government has actually issued a stringent prohibition against people from the mainland settling on the island, to avert any danger which might arise to the mother-country from the proximity of such a giant race! An official, with an escort, is indeed sent to Ollon-to from time to time, to see that this order is not violated, and to bring back as much of the produce as can be collected during his short stay there. Coreans of a sceptical turn of mind, however, affirm, and with some show of reason, that there are a good many settlers there in spite of the prohibition, who hide

themselves in the woods on the approach of the commission of inspection, which, on its part, does not venture to pursue and capture the fugitives on account of the rumours prevailing.

The country is divided into eight provinces, the names of which, from north to south, are—

Hankien
Kang Ouen
and Kjön-tsän. — on the east coast.

Pieng'an
Hoang-hai
Kiën-kei
Tson-tsön
Tsiel-la. — on the west coast.

These are the real Corean names, as known and pronounced in the country, while the two versions, one of which is mentioned by Du Halde, and which are given in the foot-note, are plainly corruptions from the Chinese.[1]

Pieng'an, the most northerly of the western provinces, extends from the mouth of the Yalou to the river Pieng'an (generally laid down by its Chinese

[1] Du Halde's version:— Other version:—

1. Hien-king	Hsien-ching.
2. Kiang-yuen	Chiang-yuen.
3. Kin-chang	T'sing-chang.
4. Pingngan	Ping an.
5. Hoanghai.	Hoang Wai.
6. King-ki	Ching-chi.
7. Tchosui	Chung-ching.
8. Tcuen-lo	Chiven-lo.

name "Tatung"), or "Great East River," one of the largest and most navigable of the Corean rivers. On its banks is situated the capital of the province bearing the same name, some 80—90 miles above the mouth, and in a north-easterly direction from the same. This important town, which has several times of old served as residence to the kings of Corea, is said to have the most beautiful situation of any city in the country. The river is navigable up to the city of Pieng'an for moderately sized vessels of a small draught, and forms the north boundary to the province of Hoanghai. The coast recedes here from Cape Chang-shen[1] in a south-east and easterly direction to the mouth of the river Kang-kiang, which divides Hoanghai from the province of Kien-kei. In Hoanghai is the district of Shen-fo-fei, famous for its cultivation of Ginsing, the best and most valued in all Asia. Saoul, the present capital of the kingdom, is situated some seventy-five miles up river. Tsontsön and Tsiella are the two provinces south on the west coast.

Of the three provinces on the east coast, Hankien, Kang-ouen and Kjon-tsön, there is comparatively little known. Their shores are rendered extremely difficult of access by a crowd of reefs and breakers, shoals and sand-banks, and nearly along the whole line of coast these present such serious and

[1] No doubt the point laid down on English and other charts as Chwang-shan, or Daniel Island.

dangerous obstacles, that even surveying vessels have not deemed it prudent to approach it at more than a few places, and have confined their observations to following its outline at a sufficiently safe distance of several miles. The Russian frigate "Pallas" sailed along it in 1854 from Tsang-liang-kai, or Chosian Harbour, to the north, keeping always from two to four miles off, the result of which voyage has been the more accurate tracing of the coast-line, and especially of some of its more projecting points, such as Port Lazareff, Yung-hing Bay, Broughton Bay, &c., and giving Russian names to a good many others. In 1855 it was followed by the "Virginie" frigate, which confined its surveying to tracing the coast from a safe distance.

These eight provinces are subdivided into eighty districts, with about 360 cities, sixty of which, however, can only lay claim to this name, the remainder distinguishing themselves from the larger hamlets and villages merely by the walled-in residence of the chief government official. Only a portion of the real cities are walled in; but it must not be thought that these walls are in any way similar to those to be found in China, where even second and third rate cities, are protected by high and strongly-fortified walls, with moats, &c. The Corean walls are hardly six feet high, miserably constructed of irregular and uneven stone blocks, and every one of them would tumble down at the first shock from the balls of any moderately sized gun. During late years, and since the

French expedition, a good many of the smaller townships have been enclosed by walls of this description, particularly in the province of Kien-kei, which is considered the most exposed to foreign invasion.

According to the last official census the total number of the inhabitants of the kingdom was estimated to reach seven-and-a-half to eight millions, but no reliance can be placed in the correctness of this estimate. For as every place, large and small, is taxed according to the number of its population, the local authorities conceal and understate almost invariably the actual number of souls under their jurisdiction, so as to reduce as much as possible the share of taxes which they have to contribute to the central government. The people of course are not in any way benefited thereby, the difference between the receipts and the amount carried off to the government treasury being pocketed by the local officials, acting in collusion with the census officers, who are easily bribed, and whose conscience proves more or less elastic according to the amount of spoil which they receive. It frequently happens, for instance, that entire villages, owned by nobles, are either omitted altogether from the census list, or are put down with one house only; and as cases of this kind are by no means of rare occurrence, it is not even considered necessary or worth while to keep them dark, as everybody in the country is aware of these facts. If to all this be added the bad and imperfect control over the large population, which peoples the innu-

merable islands at some distance from the mother-country, it must be admitted that the total sum of numbers, as given by the official census lists is altogether inadequate, and that no reliance can be placed on an estimate so completely valueless and arbitrary. According to reliable information, collected from persons in the country well able to judge, the total number of inhabitants of the peninsula and of all the islands under Corean rule may be computed at some 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 souls, and this estimate is rather below than above the mark.

Corea is throughout intersected by many ranges of mountains, which leave little room for the development of large plains anywhere. Some of the mountain peaks are of considerable height, as for instance Mount Hienfung, which is 8150 feet, and Belarenz Mountains on the east coast, which are 6100 feet above the level of the sea. In the province of Kienkei there are several very high mountains, amongst others Coxcomb Mountain,[1] so called after its peculiar shape, to the north-east of Saoul, which must be close upon 10,000 feet high; Cone or Funnel Mountain, a sharply-pointed peak shaped like a sugar-loaf; and the Table (or Tower) Mountain, on the island of Kangwha.

The high mountains of the Petheŭ-shan, forming the north barrier to China, have not as yet been explored by foreigners.

[1] Most probably the large mountain mentioned by Regis as Qua-tou-shan.

The mountainous nature of the country prevents the formation of large streams and rivers, to which cause it may also be ascribed that none of the Corean rivers are navigable at a great distance from their mouths, which, in the absence of good roads and highways, renders the communication in the interior very irksome and difficult. The rivers on the east coast, with the exception of the Tumen, are of no account whatever, while the approaches to those of the west coast, as has already been noticed, are very dangerous. Another item of no less perilous a nature in the navigation of Corean rivers is the enormous rise and fall of the water at ebb and flood tides, which not only near the sea, but high up, varies from twenty-four to thirty feet, which makes it very precarious for vessels of even a moderate draught to venture up for a great distance. The currents are also very violent and rapid, running nearly seven knots an hour in the rivers and close in shore along the coast. The rise and fall is not, however, so great on the south and east coast, where it rarely exceeds ten to twelve feet.

The Coreans are so well aware of the many and eminent difficulties to the navigation of their coasts and rivers, that, at least till lately, they have considered themselves almost safe from the dangers of a foreign invasion. The appearance and safe approach of steam-vessels has startled them much, and roused them somewhat from their old state of security.

The most noticeable rivers are—

A. On the west coast.

1. The Yalou, the course of which forms the partial boundary-line between Corea and China. It springs from the White Mountains, and is of great length. About thirty miles wide at its mouth, the river narrows considerably immediately above its entrance into the sea, and becomes only navigable for flat-bottomed junks. Foreign ships have never been up the river, and there exist no surveys of the same. There is a small trading place, I-chou, close to the mouth of the river, which is at times visited by Chinese junks smuggling foreign goods into the country.

2. The Pieng'an (the Tatung-Kiang of the Chinese), or Great East River, the southern boundary line of the province of the same name. Its mouth was visited by the American steam-frigate "Shenandoah" in 1868, but the vessel did not venture up the river on account of the many dangerous obstacles which opposed the passage of a vessel of her size. Her boats were sent up for several miles, but retreated on being fired upon from some forts newly erected. A good survey of the mouth of the river has been the result of this visit. According to native report, the Pieng'an is navigable for vessels of a moderate draught for a considerable distance. The sad fate of the American schooner "General Sherman" proves however sufficiently that it is as dangerous and treacherous to

sailing-vessels as any other of the Corean rivers. The "General Sherman" (in 1866) got on shore on a bank a few miles above the entrance, and being left high and dry at ebb-tide, was boarded by the natives, the whole crew murdered by order of the authorities, and the ship destroyed by fire.

3. The Kang-Kiang (Chinese Han-Kiang) is as yet the only one of all Corean rivers navigated by a foreign steamer, and which has been explored for a considerable distance. Desirous of penetrating right up to the capital of the country, to enter into direct negotiations with the Corean Government, and convinced that a great river, the position of which was up to that date unknown, must lead up to it, its mouth was at last found, through many obstacles and dangers, during my voyage of discovery in the British steamer "Emperor," Captain James.[1]

The steamer proceeded about seventy miles up the main river, within a few miles of Saoul only, when it was found to become so shallow, that the safety of the vessel would have been seriously imperilled by proceeding any further.[2]

[1] Chapter viii., Second Voyage to Corea.

[2] At the final place of anchorage of the "Emperor," the water fell 26′ at its lowest and 30′ at its highest. There was only just enough water left in the very narrow mid-channel for the steamer, then drawing only 7 feet, to swing without touching the ground, while the whole river, about half a mile wide at this spot, was nearly dry at low water.

The entrance of the Kang-Kiang lies about two to three miles south of the Tsia-Tong Islands, and it may be traced thence in an easterly and north-easterly direction to the north-east point of the island of Kang-wha, where a small and very narrow branch between this island and the main land runs nearly straight north and south into the Prince Imperial Archipelago.

From the point where this branch joins the river, the latter continues for a few miles due east, and narrowing by degrees, runs south for about fifteen miles more, until it reaches Saoul, the capital. It becomes so shallow beyond Kang-wha Island, that foreign built ships drawing more than three or four feet of water would incur great risk by venturing any further, as the river is completely dry here at low water.

The mouth is protected by enormous sand-banks, which make the entrance into the same extremely difficult, and leave only a very small and narrow navigable channel. When these banks have safely been passed, as far as Olga and Gertrude Islands, a broad neck of the main land stretches out, along which the channel runs, taking a great many turnings, the river forming several large basins in its course up to Ailsa Craig, a rock rising high and steep midway out of the river, just below Emperor Basin. There is sufficient water for large-sized vessels, the lead showing thirteen fathoms at low water, and no ground. From this point, however,

the river-bed narrows considerably and shallows much, and the channel runs straight to Kang-wha Island, continuing close under its shores, with only two to three-and-a-half fathoms at low water. Midway between Kang-wha and the opposite shore there is a long and ugly ridge of rocks, stretching a good way across, the Barrier Rocks, just covered at low water. The banks of the river are hilly on both sides, covered with a great many good-sized and well-peopled villages. On the Hoanghai side of the river a town of considerable size is passed, Kiau-tong, the seat of the district governor: it is not, however, walled in. The view on both sides is exceedingly pretty and picturesque, steep masses of thickly-wooded rocks running close down to the water's edge, while far to the rear the high mountains overtower the whole. There are no forts on the main land, but on the Kang-wha shore there are several old ones in ruins, without any guns. The whole of them appeared to be utterly neglected. They are each guarded by a single watchman, who lives there peaceably with his family.

4. The Li-kiang, in the south-west, is the only other river worth noticing. It is of inconsiderable length, and little more than its name is known.

B. On the east coast.

5. The Dungan, falling into Port Lazareff (Virginie Bay), is the most important on this side of the peninsula. The river's mouth is formed by several channels, the largest of which is only three

cable-lengths in width, all of them being very shallow. A few miles above the entrance it divides into several branches, the length of which has not as yet been accurately ascertained; the probability is that it does not stretch far into the interior, and that its springs are situated in the high mountains which are discernible from the river's mouth.

6. The Giffard, in Yung-hing Bay, a small but very rapid river, otherwise without importance.

7. The Tumen-kiang. This river forms the north-east frontier between Corea and the territories, formerly Chinese, which have now been ceded to Russia. Like the Yalou, it springs from the White Mountains, and falls into the sea in 42·19 N. lat. The Russian frigate "Pallas" sailed about ten miles up the river, but the same obstacles which obstruct the navigation of other Corean rivers were found to exist here, and the frigate turned back to escape the many dangers which threatened her progress. Many shoals, banks, and reefs were met with the whole way, and beyond the distance traversed by the "Pallas" the channel got too shallow even for small vessels.

C. On the south coast.

8. The only river worth mentioning here is the Tsin-kiang, which falls into the Corean Straits near Chosian Harbour. It has never been surveyed by foreign ships, and all that is known about it is that both in length and width it is much inferior to any of the larger Corean rivers.

The exact position of the capital, which until lately was quite unknown, has now been determined to be in 37·31 N. lat., and 124·30 long. E. (Paris), about three miles distant from the banks of the Kang-kiang, to which one of its suburbs extends. Called Wan-ching or Han-ching by the Chinese, it is given in most of the existing maps as Kin-ki-tao, but its position is generally put down in a spot altogether wrong and imaginary. The names just mentioned are unknown in the country, and are consequently not used by the natives, who only call it Saoul, *i.e.* court or seat of the king. It is at the same time the royal residence and the seat of the central government. It counts at present from 100,000 to 150,000 inhabitants, and is the largest and most important city in the kingdom. Most of the noble families live here at least a portion of the year. In other respects the town distinguishes itself in no manner from any other Corean city, neither by the greater regularity of its streets, nor by prominent and beautiful buildings. The streets are a good deal wider than those in Chinese cities, but the public buildings, the houses of the higher classes, and even the royal palaces, can bear no comparison with the houses of the richer classes in any of the larger towns of China. Large temples or joss-houses, rich in gilt and many-coloured ornamental carvings, such as we find in the latter country, we look for in vain; and the general impression of the town, with its low, one storied, mostly mud-built

houses, is but a poor one, and certainly not such as could be expected to be made by the first city and capital of a kingdom like Corea. Any one expecting to find here shops like those of Canton, Ningpo, or of Japanese towns, with their rich and beautiful contents of ivory and lacquerware of wood and iron workmanship, would be grievously disappointed. The fortifications of Saoul, like those of other large Corean cities, consist of a simple stone wall some nine to ten feet high, in no way fitted to protect it efficiently. Up to the date of the French expedition, this wall was in a sad state of repair, and had been allowed to tumble down in many places. These gaps have since been filled up, but no attempt has been made to strengthen them, or to improve the old style of fortification. This is thought the less necessary as the Corean Government is too deeply convinced of its invincibility to fear any assault from foreigners. It is to be hoped that the time may not be far distant when it will be taught the contrary, and be reduced to admit the absurdity of its belief in its own superior bravery and power.

Saoul has not always been the capital of the country and the residence of the Corean kings; it was only chosen as such at the end of the sixteenth century, after the total destruction of the old capital, Sunto, during the Japanese invasion. This place has become, after its reconstruction, the largest commercial emporium of Corea. It is situated in

the province of Hoanghai, in the district of Sunto, about twenty miles to the north of the Kang-kiang.[1]

Besides these the following towns deserve special mention, as counting amongst the more important places:—Ichou, on the mouth of the Yalou River; Pieng'an, in the same province; Sjang-tsjn, in Kjön-tsön; Chosian, in Tsiella. The latter place, possessing a good harbour, is likely to become an important settlement as soon as the country is opened to foreign trade.

Most of the places marked down on the sea charts as towns near the sea coast are merely small hamlets or fishing villages, and cannot lay claim to the name of cities.

[1] According to Regis, Sunto (or Son-yo, as he calls it) was raised to be the capital about 930 years after Christ, up to which time Pinyan (the Pieng'an of to-day) has been the royal residence.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

Former dependence on China—Decay of the Chinese supremacy and power—Secret treaty clauses between the two countries —Absolute rule of the king of Corea—Institution of official favourite—Council of State—Provincial and district government administration—Periodical appointment of functionaries —Their supervision and reports—The office of "Wandering Inspector" and the secret police—Previous and present effect of the same—Corruption of the administration—The old offices of "Judge of Morality," &c.—Rank and titles of military and naval officers.

SINCE the amalgamation of the different tribes and the union of the various estates (1397), the government of Corea has devolved upon an independent king, whose rule is absolute and supreme. With regard to the relative position between this country and China, the view pretty generally held hitherto, of a still existing state of supremacy or suzerainty of the latter over the former, has to be set aside once for all as obsolete and wrong. Centuries ago, indeed, the Chinese emperors have exercised suzerain powers over the Corean kings; but even in those remote times these powers were very limited and

confined to certain stipulated rights, and there is no question that this mild form of vassalage has also long since ceased to exist. The China of olden times, mighty within and without, which by the mere influence of her magnitude had been enabled to exercise any amount of pressure on her weaker neighbours, the China of Dschingis-khan, Octai and Kublai-khan has long ago been reduced from her rank of a first-rate power to a much lower standard. Barely able to repress and subdue the chronic state of rebellion in its own provinces, the Pekin Government is much less in a position now-a-days to exercise any political influence upon those adjacent states, which were formerly tributary and acknowledged its suzerainty. It has thus been compelled to relinquish its old hold upon Burmah, Siam, and Cochin China, and stands in no better position to Corea, though it has far greater claims upon the gratitude of this country for services and assistance rendered to the same in times of need. It was only by the aid and support of the Chinese that the Coreans finally succeeded in repelling and driving out the Japanese,[1] whose superiority in the art of warfare had vanquished them in spite of their personal bravery; but the concessions which have been made to their powerful neighbour while in distress are long since considered null and void by the Coreans, and their existence is completely ignored

[1] Chapter iii., History of Corea.

by them, fully aware as they are, even if he were willing to enforce these old treaty stipulations, which he is not, of the emperor of China's inability to do so. At that time the latter had certainly not contented himself with mere promises and paper treaties—he had been careful to obtain a material remuneration for the aid rendered, which consisted in the cession of the then Corean province of Leautong, this province having often previously been a cause of contention between the two countries. The possession of Leautong appears to be the only practical benefit China has reaped and enjoyed to this day. An engagement for the annual payment of tribute has further been entered into, which for a time was conscientiously kept by the Coreans, besides which the right of confirming the Corean kings upon their accession to the throne was conceded. According to a tradition still current in the country a special secret treaty is said to have been concluded at the time, by the principal clause of which three Corean provinces were to be ceded to the Chinese emperor, in the event of his being deprived of his own throne. At present it is of no moment if such a treaty really has been in existence or not, if this clause was meant to apply to the then reigning emperor only, or also to his successors. As this information has been collected from, and been confirmed by highly reliable native sources, it is probable that such an agreement was actually entered into by the Government of Corea, and that its provision was

likely to extend to the successors also; but having been forced upon the former when completely at the mercy of their ally, it may reasonably be doubted that the Coreans ever seriously intended to carry it out, a view which is fully corroborated by the fact that nothing of the kind took place when the Ming dynasty was shortly after deposed by the Tartars.

The rule of the king of Corea is absolute, and his will alone is law. There exists, indeed, the office of a high functionary whose special duty consists in watching and controlling the royal actions. Formerly this office really had some significance; at present it possesses none whatever. Another very curious "institution," quite peculiar to the country, is that of "declared or official favorite," a position generally filled by some male member of a noble family, or by one of the ministers, whose influence for good or for evil is paramount with his royal master. This office, however, is more frequently filled by a brother or some other near relation of the queen, who has been particularly successful in obtaining the royal favour by ministering to the more or less noble passions of the king. The Coreans are so much used to this institution, which they consider to be both natural and necessary, that a king without an acknowledged and "official" favorite would appear to them to become almost impossible. It is a fact as positive as ludicrous that great excitement was caused by the marriage of the

present king[1]—nearly provoking public riots—with the daughter of a widow without any children or other near relations, merely for the reason that the people were at a loss to know how the place of favorite was to be filled up. To understand the reason for this excitement in this special case, it must be explained that the marriage was planned and brought about by the boy's father, who, having usurped the regency and possessed himself of the sovereign power against public will, had purposely chosen a wife without any family connexion for his son, to prevent the selection of a favorite whose influence he was afraid would be greater than his own, and supplant him later on in the management of state affairs, or weaken his control over the person of the king.

The council of state consists of three first-class members, who compose the privy council, and of six members of the second class, forming the ministry, which is subordinate in authority to the first. The titles of the privy councillors are—

1. Lien-wi-tsen, Chief of the just government.
2. Tsoa-wi-tsen, The just governor of the left.
3. U-wi-tsen, The just governor of the right.

Their duty consists in superintending the ministers and the functionaries attached to their

[1] The present king of Corea was adopted, when only a child of three or four years old, by the queen-dowager in 1864, after the death of the old king, who died without issue, and as the last of the Ni dynasty.

offices, and also to control the general government of the country.

The management of all government affairs rests with the six ministers, each of whom is in charge of a separate department, namely, of the interior, of the finances, war, education, punishments (*i. e.* justice), and public works. A minister of foreign affairs is not appointed, the duties of such devolving on the minister of education.[1] The eight provinces are under the rule of governors, with the title of Kam-să,[2] who reside in their respective provincial capital. Each province is divided into circuits, the rank of the chief official varying according to its extent and importance, and the circuits are again subdivided into districts, the officers in charge of which have to look after the collecting of taxes, to maintain public order, and to superintend the government magazines and storehouses. The latter are placed under the direct jurisdiction of the provincial governor, to whom they have to report on all matters connected with their office. Subordinate to the district officials are the local authorities, the magistrates, inspectors, and elders of the smaller towns and places.

All these officers, from the provincial governor downwards to the lowest, are appointed to their

[1] "Tschosian Monogatari" erroneously mentions only five ministers of the second class.

[2] The Japanese work calls them "Mok-să."

respective posts, however, only for a term of two years, which term is in rare cases prolonged for another year, an arrangement that can hardly be conducive to the prosperity of the country and to the good management of public business. At the expiration of this period a purchase-money, varying in amount according to the value and importance of the appointment, has to be paid by each, and they are removed to some other place. In consequence of this continual changing from place to place the officers never have sufficient time to become properly acquainted with the character of the different communities to which they are nominated; they take no interest in the welfare of the people under their charge, and their only object is to repay themselves during the short term of office allowed to them, and as fast as they can, by all sorts of unlawful and extortionate expedients. That the people are made to suffer doubly by this baneful system appears to be a matter of no moment; while the Government, on the other hand, gains the two objects it has in view—to fill its exchequer by the frequent sale of places, and to prevent any approach between the population and the local authorities. Every high functionary is bound to report twice a year to the king direct upon the officers under his orders, and their services are disposed of according to the nature of such report, the tenor of which is made dependent on the bribe which the reporter is able to extort.

The establishment of this system of control dates far back, but it appears that the Central Government had reason to doubt, even then, the integrity of the authorities charged with the supervision of the minor official body, and tried to devise means to prevent malpractices; for which purpose special officers were appointed, whose sole duty and business it was to watch over the behaviour of functionaries of all grades.

The Japanese work "Tschosian Monogatari" gives the following account of the duties of their office:— "An officer is set over each district, whose title, 'Sjun-ts'har-să,' *i.e.* Wandering Inspector, indicates the nature of his business. He keeps a watchful eye over the conduct of the Governor and all his lower officers, and reports thereupon. He is assisted by police agents of various ranks. These wandering inspectors are under the authority of the 'To Sjun-ts'har-să,' or Inspector-General of the circuit of the capital, and all again are under the control and orders of the 'Sjun-ts'har-kam-să,' or Chief Court Spy. This secret police renders good service to the people as well as to Government. Being at liberty to speak their mind without reserve and without regard to persons, and free to censure the conduct of any one at court they think fit to object to, these court spies interpose, as it were, between the people and the sovereign, and they are thus placed in a position to do good and efficient service in a country in which rank and station are so highly

valued, and where the covetousness and ambitious craving for power of the nobles and of the upper classes effectually and frequently prevent the prince's listening to the wants and to the just wishes of the people at large."

For the better understanding of this Japanese account it must however be observed that it was written nearly two hundred years ago, and that the statement, which at the time may have contained a perfectly correct and truthful version of affairs, does unfortunately no longer apply to the present times, and belongs to a period long since past and forgotten. It is, indeed, asserted by the Coreans—and there is no reason to doubt or to discredit this assertion—that this body performed its duty well for a time, and that its action had a very beneficial effect. A secret agent was despatched from time to time into the provinces to take personal cognizance of the bearing of the provincial and local authorities, to report upon abuses and malpractices in the conduct of public affairs, and the authors of any such misdeeds were called to account and brought to condign punishment. A salutary check was kept in this manner upon the actions of all officers, the peace and security of the population was promoted, and it is said that the country never enjoyed a greater season of prosperity than in those times. The chronicle above referred to omits to mention several rather important points connected with the duty of these so-called wandering inspectors. They

were allowed only to travel incognito and on foot; had orders to proceed with the greatest caution and circumspection; and they were provided with powers so extensive, that in urgent cases they were placed in a position to call to account, and even dismiss on the spot, any offender guilty of lawlessness and misdemeanor. The existence of this board of superintendence was of course known everywhere, but nobody was personally acquainted with its members, who not only changed their sphere of action continually, but appeared suddenly, and in all sorts of unexpected disguises, and were thus enabled to discharge their duties in a secret and a very effectual manner.

If this mode of surveillance had been continued unchanged, the people would have little reason to complain of a Government, which, though absolute, was careful to protect its subjects against any undue violence, oppression, or extortion on the part of its own officers. Unfortunately the system has not lasted long, and like many other laws and measures of a similar nature, issued for the people's welfare, it is administered now in a lax and quite different style, greatly to the detriment of the prosperity of the country. What yet remained of the old institutions has of late been abolished by the Tai-ouen-goon, or Regent, who, greatly to the discontent of the people, has taken possession of the reins of Government. To maintain himself he has been compelled to have recourse to the services of unscrupulous persons,

prepared to carry out his orders and decrees blindly, and with an utter disregard to the public interest; and the bad example set in the highest quarters has not failed completely to demoralize all branches of the administration, in which mismanagement and abuses are no longer an exception, but the general rule. The measures, originally established in favour of, and for the protection of the public only, are now directed against the latter itself and against all those who are in the least suspected of showing dissatisfaction with the present rule.

The actual state of affairs is bad enough at present. All offices, appointments, and honours are sold by the Regent and his creatures to the highest bidder: the high officers sell justice, and rob and plunder their subordinates, while these again try to indemnify themselves by pillage and extortion. The old establishment of supervision exists still, it is true, but only by name, and for form's sake. The wandering inspectors and secret agents have ceased to act in accordance with their instructions under the old laws. Their only and deliberate object is to render their office as remunerative as possible to themselves; and as, under these circumstances, they neither see the necessity for keeping up a disguise or for moving about on foot, which is considered now-a-days a mode of travel far too irksome and tiresome, they prefer to conduct their business quite openly, to travel about *en grand seigneur*, and to extort heavy bribes from all those whose interest it is to have favor-

able accounts of their conduct sent in to head-quarters.

The only persons in the public service, who are not exposed to the same continual change of office like their colleagues, are the accountants employed in the prefectures, whose social standing is very low, belonging as they do, as pointed out in another place,[1] for the greater part to the so-called despicable castes. Owing to their keeping their places longer they acquire a better and more intimate knowledge of them and of the localities in which they serve, and as they know how to benefit by their experience, to their own advantage as well as to that of their superiors, they exercise without exception an influence over the latter out of keeping with their social rank and position.

Amongst the high officers holding appointments at court, the Kan-kwan, or judge of morality, stands in the first rank. This office, which was established in the good old times, has, like most other similar institutions, become quite ineffective, and exists only by name. This position was formerly filled by a person of advanced age, whose virtues and scholarship particularly fitted him for it, and who enjoyed, of course, great and general esteem. His duty it was to watch all the king's actions, to subject him to a severe control, and to remonstrate with, and even fearlessly censure his royal master, whenever his views of right

[1] Chapter iv.

and justice did not coincide with those of the sovereign.[1] Another court appointment is that of the To-ŭen-să, which is held by a scholar who has to be particularly intimate with the classic works and the Chinese language, and that of the Suen-tsien-kŭen, whose office corresponds with the charge of one of our court-marshalls. His duty consists in delivering addresses to the king, in returning answers, publishing royal commands, &c.

It may be interesting to add the list of titles of the commanders of the army and navy, which, according to the "Tschosian Monogatari," must formerly have held appointments, hardly any of which, however, have been filled up during the long period of peace the country has enjoyed.

ARMY.

Tsung-sin	General Field-marshal.		
Sjing rak ho-kuen . .	Commander of the garrison of the capital.		
Wi-pien pok ts 'hjukuen	„	„	corps of Avengers.
Tsung-pien să-tso . .	„	„	centre.
Tsoa-pien să-tso . . .	„	„	left wing.
U-pien să-tso . . .	„	„	right wing.
Tsung pang-ö să . .	„	„	centre reserve.
Tsoă pang-ö să . . .	„	„	left reserve.
U pang-ö să	„	„	right reserve.
Tsu pang-ö să . . .	„	„	supplementary reserve.
Pien-tso pan sie kuen .	Auditor.		

NAVY.

Tsung sjn-kun să . . .	Admiral of the centre.		
Tsoă sjn-kun să	„	„	left
Sjn-kun să	„	„	right.

[1] The same office exists at the courts of the great Japanese Daimios, not however at those of the Mikado and of the Shiogoon (since deposed).

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF COREA.

Deficiency of Corean literature as to the history of the country—Japanese and Chinese sources—Earliest mention of Corea 4000 years back—First reliable accounts—The Chang dynasty overthrown in China by Vouvang—Foundation of the kingdom of Tchaosien by Kitsü—His successors—Division of China into seven States—Conquest of Tchaosien by Yen—Tsin unites China, and takes the name of Tsai-chi-hoang on becoming Emperor—Erection of the wooden boundary wall between China and Corea—The Huns invade China—Re-establishment of the kingdom of Yen—Kiaotong deposes the Kitsü dynasty—Kaoutsou, founder of the Han dynasty—Weiman invades Tchaosien, expels Kiaotong, and is acknowledged king by China—Makes Pieng'an his capital—Yenkiü, grandson of Weiman, declares himself independent—Is attacked by the Emperor Wuti and beats him—Assassination of Yenkiü—Tchaosien made a Chinese province; its re-construction as a separate State—Foundation of the kingdom of Kaoli (Korie) by Prince Tchuming—The tribes of the Weimĕ and Oktsŏ—The Ileu, ancestors of the Mantchus—Foundation of the kingdom of Petsi by Kaotsong, king of Tchaosien—The Măhan and Pienhăn—Foundation of the kingdom of Sinra by Huk-kŏ-se—The Sinhăn - Kaoli, at war with China, occupies Leautong—The Japanese invade Sinra with the help of Petsi—Goeiking, king of Kaoli—Huontu destroyed—Buddhism first introduced in Corea—Continued feuds between the three States—Expulsion of the Japanese—Recapture of Leautong by Kaoli—The Emperor Yangti assails Kaoli

and takes Pieng'an—Is defeated by Yuen—Yuen's successor, Kien, assassinated—The Emperor Taitsong subdues Kaoli—War between Kaoli and Petsi with Sinra—Victory of the last—Union of the States of Tchaosien and Kaoli—Sinra masters the whole country to the Yalou—Vangkien frees Kaoli and Petsi and defeats Sinra—Makes Sungyo his residence and conquers Petsi—Kaoli unites all three States into one, and declares its allegiance to China—Overthrow of the Song dynasty in China by Dschingis-khan, who ascends the throne under the name of Taitsou—He invades Corea—His successor Octai—The Mongolian officials repeatedly killed by the Coreans, who defeat the Chinese armies sent to subdue them—Octai concludes peace; his friendly meeting with the king of Corea—Octai's son Mangou again assails Corea; his sudden death—Kublai-khan, planning the conquest of Japan, makes friends with the Coreans, who join him—Total destruction of the fleet sent against Japan by tempest, near the island of Iki: fearful loss of life: only three Mongolians reported saved—Downfall of the Mongolian rule after the death of Kublai-khan—The Ming dynasty in China—Dynastic struggles in Corea, which end in the overthrow of the Wang family and the accession of the Ni, the present dynasty—Saoul made capital—Division of Corea into provinces, &c.—Enjoys peace for a long time—Daiko Fidejosi, Taikoon of Japan—Asks Corea to join him in the conquest of China, and is refused—Lands a large army in Corea and overruns the country—Defeats the Chinese near Pieng'an—Ostensible peace with Corea—The south retained by the Japanese—Refuses to receive Corean envoys in Nippon—He again invades Corea and conquers it—His sudden death when about to invade China—Defeat and expulsion of the Japanese after his death—Many of the latter settle peaceably in the south of the peninsula—Final peace concluded some twenty years later—Vain attempts of the Mantchus to subdue Corea—The old treaties confirmed—End of foreign wars—Policy of seclusion henceforth maintained by the Corean Government—Later relations between China and Corea—Exchange of embassies and presents—First introduction of Christianity by native converts—Their great success, and its causes—Their first

persecution—Roman Catholic missionaries enter Corea—Their arrest and execution—Their followers—Mr. Berneux, head of the mission—He gains much interest at court—The queen favours the Christians—Favorable resolutions to foreigners taken by the Council of State in Corea after the capture of Pekin by the Western Powers—Why these resolutions were not carried out—Repeated offers made to Mr. Berneux by the Government upon the appearance of Russian vessels on the coast, and promises made to him—His refusal—Death of the last king of the Ni dynasty—The queen adopts a child to succeed him—The father of this boy usurps the Regency—The regent—His bad character—Sudden arrest of Mr. Berneux and of eight of his colleagues—Their execution—Escape of the three other foreign missionaries—Relentless persecution of native converts and of all persons suspected of opposition to the regent—Unscrupulous measures adopted by the latter to oppress the people—He coins false copper money and compels its circulation—Public hatred against him—Exchange of despatches between the French Chargé d'Affaires at Pekin and Prince Kung on the occasion of the murder of the French missionaries—The French expedition to Corea—Its departure—Signal defeat and return within eight days—Demolition of the town of Kangwha—Admiral Roze—Voyage of the American frigate "Shenandoah"—Impudent message delivered by the Corean authorities to her captain—Late reports of differences between Corea and Japan—Conclusion.

AMONG the nations of the universe who claim to have attained a certain degree of culture, and profess to live in a state of civilization, there is none whose literature shows a greater incompleteness and deficiency respecting its own origin and history than that of the Coreans. It appears almost as if not one of all pretended native scholars had been willing or able to write a record of the

history of the country, or that the accounts left by Japanese and Chinese historians were considered sufficiently complete to supply the want; for we should actually know nothing whatever of its historical past if it had not been for the latter, whom alone we have to thank for any accounts which have reached posterity. The fullest and best details we find in Japanese writings, especially of the middle ages and the subsequent centuries, which may be accounted for by the close, but for the most part hostile, connexion between the two countries.

Up to the beginning of the 17th century, Corea has almost incessantly been the scene of interior feuds and disorders, and of the thirst of conquest of her nearest neighbours, who settled there either their own disputes between each other, or tried to possess themselves of the supremacy over the country itself. Since the conclusion of the last war with Japan only, and after China had finally desisted from fruitlessly attempting to reduce Corea to submission, this hard-tried country has enjoyed a longer repose, of which the population, nearly ruined and decimated by continual wars and disorder, was only too much in need.

Of those Japanese works, which partly in recording their own history, have taken notice of the events occurring in the neighbour country, and partly directed their attention to the history of Corea alone, there are three which deserve special mention on account of the highly interesting and

valuable information which they furnish on the greater part of historical events in ancient times. They are—

"Nipponki." Chronicle of Japan from 660 B.C. to 696 A.D. Published 720 A.D. 30 vols.

"Nippon-wôdai itsi-van." Summary of Events of the Japanese Government, 661 B.C. to 1611 A.D. Osaka, 1795. 7 vols.

"Tsjo-sen Monogatari." History of Tchaosien. Jedo, 1750. 5 vols.

Later historical works on Corea, of Chinese or Japanese origin, do not appear to exist; at all events, it is very questionable if any such have ever been published. This is easily explained by the circumstance that the intercourse with other nations after the wars gradually became more and more restricted, until it ceased almost altogether, in consequence of the secluding policy of the Corean Government; and as no political events of moment or of interest to the outer world have since taken place, no foreign historian has thought it worth while to record them.

The first mention of the inhabitants of Corea we find in old Chinese chronicles about 2350 B.C., at which period some of the northern tribes are reported to have entered, after many conflicts, into a tributary connexion with China. It does not, however, appear as if this dependent position had been of long duration at any time, and in the course of the next thousand years we find the same, at times

completely subjugated, at others again quite independent, carrying on successful wars and invasions into Chinese territory, during which they had even taken possession, in the 16th century B.C., of the provinces of Leautong and Kiang-nan.

The first really reliable accounts of Corea of historical value, however, commence only with the 12th century B.C., at which time the north-westerly part of the peninsula stands out from the dark first.

These accounts are divided into several sections, according to the part of the country they respectively treat of—foremost into the historical records of the northern part next to China, and into those of the three kingdoms of Kaoli, Petsi, and Sinra, the first authentic information upon which only dates from the year 60 B.C. During the reign of the Chinese emperor Tcheou, of the Chang dynasty, at the beginning of the 12th century B.C., one of his relations, called Kitse or Kitsü, who lived at court, had made himself obnoxious to the emperor by the candour and frankness with which he censured the tyrannical action of the Government, and by his attempts to induce the sovereign to adopt more lenient measures. Thrown into prison, Kitsü was detained a captive until Tscheou was deposed and killed in the rebellion headed by Vouvang, who overthrew the Chang dynasty. The new emperor set Kitsü at liberty, showed him great favour and wished to retain him near his person as adviser; but Kitsü could not be induced to serve the man who had deprived his

family of the throne. He resolved to quit China, and to emigrate, crossed the Yalou, and settled on the shores of the river Pai-shui (the Tatung, or Pieng'an of to-day), where he founded a new kingdom, selecting the town of Pieng'an as capital. This new state he named Tschao-sien, made allegiance to Vouvang in 1119 B.C., and acknowledged the latter as liege lord, giving his kingdom a constitution framed after the Chinese. Kitsü himself reigned many years, and left the newly-founded state in peace and prosperity to his successors. The country flourished for a considerable time under their rule, until the struggles and disorders which had broken out in adjacent China led to the dismemberment of this empire, and affected Tschaosien itself. China had been cut up into seven kingdoms, called Tsou, Tchao, Tsin, Yen or Yan, Han, Tsi and Quei. Of these Yen was the nearest to Corea. The kingdom of Yen was originally composed only of the province of Petcheli; but had soon after mastered Leautong, and thence extended its conquests to Tschaosien, although Kitsü's successors had formally acknowledged the sovereignty of Yen, and had reigned as vassals of the latter (403—222 B.C.). Yen was not long, however, to remain independent. Tsin, the king of Tsin made war upon it, vanquished it and the five other kingdoms, and declared himself emperor of re-united China, adopting the name of Tsin-chi-hoang (246 B.C.).

During the reign of this emperor a wooden wall

was erected to mark the frontier between the two countries, which exists to this day.[1]

The dynasty founded by Tsin did not enjoy its rule for a long time. Under the reign of his son and successor, China was overrun by the Huns, and again divided into many small parts. The kingdom of Yen was re-established, and Tschaosien was again made an independent kingdom, after Kiao-tong, or Kitschün, had overthrown the Kitsü dynasty, of which forty-one kings had reigned in unbroken succession (221—203 B.C.). During these troubles a great many people had fled from the Chinese border provinces into Corea, where they had been hospitably received by Kiao-tong, who gave them large allotments of land to live upon.

The Yen dynasty, which had given its name to the kingdom, soon shared the fate of the other short-lived dynastical houses. Kaoutsou, the founder of the Han dynasty, overthrew the same after a long series of feuds, expelled the reigning family, and after having reconquered and reunited all portions of the divided empire, made himself emperor of the whole. While these combats lasted, Queiman (Cor. Weiman), a descendant of the house of Yen, collected a numerous body of people devoted to the same, and, after the head of the family had sought refuge with the Huns, he went with his followers

[1] Beyond this wooden wall a small piece of territory has been left, which has been accepted as neutral ground by both States, which no one is allowed to enter without special permit.

to Corea, where he allied himself with the fugitives, who had previously been kindly received by Kiao-tong, whom he deposed, and possessed himself of the royal dignity. After strengthening his authority, he turned against the independent Corean tribes of the Utsü and Weimë, subjugated them after several severe struggles, and having made his peace with the Han family, then reigning in China, was confirmed by the Chinese emperor in his possessions, who approved of and appointed him as prince and vassal of all the territories beyond the wooden boundary-wall. Some time previously he had chosen Pieng'an as his capital. His dynasty was not, however, more fortunate than many of the others before alluded to, and was only of short duration. Already, during the reign of his son and successor (128 B.C.), 180,000 of the vanquished tribe of the Weimë had emigrated to Leautong, where they had placed themselves under the protection of the Chinese emperor. Yen-Kiü (Chin. Yon-Kiou), grandson of Weiman, resolved to free himself from the Chinese supremacy, killed the ambassador of the emperor at his court (110 B.C.), and refused to obey the latter any longer. Upon this the emperor Wuti attacked him conjointly with the Weimë under his protection, but had to retire severely beaten. Unable to vanquish Yenkiü, who was about to follow up his success by invading the Chinese territory, Wuti at last found means to have the Corean king murdered by some of his own people

(108 B.C.), thereby putting an end to the reign of the descendants of Weiman. Deprived of its energetic and warlike chief, the country had to submit to the sway of the emperor, and accepted his protection, who treated it just like a Chinese province, and not as a separate, though tributary state. Things remained in this condition until about 30 B.C., at which time a part of Tschaosien, taking advantage of the disorders which had broken out afresh in China, and had much weakened the power and influence of the Han dynasty, separated from the empire, and again formed a state by itself, but still remained tributary; while the other portions of the old kingdom for some time longer remained under Chinese rule, until they also joined the portion that had been freed.

Up to this period Tschaosien, forming the north-west of the present Corea, had been the only part of that country that had become more closely connected with China. The tracts to the north-east, south-west, and to the south, were occupied by different independent tribes, and little more is known of the latter up to about 100 B.C. than that they were ruled by chiefs of their own clans. In course of time three kingdoms, Kaoli, Petsi and Sinra were formed out of these various elements, subsisting by the side of Tschaosien, at a later date fighting either beside or against China, and almost incessantly at feud with each other, until Sinra gained the predominance, about the middle

of the 8th century A.D., and kept the same up to the 16th century. It was then supplanted in the leading position by Kaoli, which united under its supremacy all those parts of Corea which hitherto had been separated from each other, and constituted the whole into one single State. We possess the following dates upon the origin of these kingdoms:—

Foundation of Kaoli.—The north-east part of the peninsula, composed of the mountainous parts of the present provinces of Han-kiang and a portion of Kang-ouen, was inhabited by the tribe of the Utsü (Cor. Oktsŏ), subdivided in those of the north, east, and south. This tribe possessed no single chief of its own, but the different clans and heads of families shared in the general government. Their northern neighbours were the Ileu, the ancestors of the Mantchu of later times, and the people of the kingdom of Fuyü; to the south lived the tribe of the Weimë (Cor. Uïmack), in the remaining part of the present province of Kang-ouen. The latter, after having been subdued by Weiman, had been brought under the rule of China, on the overthrow of the grandson of the former (108 B.C.). Prince Tchuming[1] a relation of the imperial family, fled to these Utsü from Fuyü. He succeeded in uniting the clans of this tribe under his dominion, and is to be considered as the founder of the kingdom, which he called Kaokiuli, or Kaoli, after his family

[1] Chapter i. The Corean legend on the foundation of Kaoli refers to this prince.

name, Kao (Cor. Ko, *i. e.* "high"), he himself taking the title Tung-ming-wang, "King of the Eastern Light." The state at that time comprised twelve clans, with together 40,000 to 50,000 families.

Foundation of Petsi (Cor. Paiktse 百濟).—On the west coast, south of the river Han Keang (the Kan-kiang), lived the Măhan, in the present provinces Kienkei and Tsongtsön. To these fled Kaotsong, king of Tschaosien, upon his dethronement by Weiman, seized the power over a part of them, and had founded a dynasty, which retained the reins of government up to 18 B.C., but was then deposed by one of the Măhan chiefs, called Tchungmen. This new king subdued the remainder of the tribe, that had retained its independence hitherto, chose the town of Uïre as capital, and called the new state Siptse (Chin. Schi-tsi-hu). Later on the Măhan were joined by the kindred tribe of the Pien-han, and extended their rule over the whole south-western part of the present Corea; on which occasion the old name of the kingdom was altered into Petsi, that is, "the hundred set over the water." The number of inhabitants at this period had reached about 100,000 families.

Foundation of Sinra.—The south-west part of the peninsula, now taken up by the province of Kjöntsön, was occupied by the Shin-han (Cor. Sinhan), who claimed descent from members of the Tsü dynasty. These Sinhan appear early to have been more civilized than their northern neighbours; they

were better mannered and more accomplished, built towns and castles, and possessed a hereditary nobility which reigned over the different clans. One of their number, He-kiu-sche (Cor. Huk-kŏ-se), subdued the other noble chiefs (57 B.C.), possessed himself of the government and founded a dynasty, giving the name of Suë-fa-lo (Cor. Sjö-pör-ra) to the kingdom. His successors maintained themselves for many centuries after: the twenty-second of this line changed the name into Sinra, and took the title of Kŭe-wang. Upon this dynasty becoming extinct, the families of Shŏ and Kin (Cor. Iack and Kum) assumed the royal dignity.

At the time of the foundation of these three states there existed a notable difference in language and customs as well between the various tribes composing them, as also with the people of Tschaosien. Though for the greater part descendants of one race, the origin and growth of this diversity and dissimilarity had been greatly favoured by the mountainous character of the country, which kept them politically separated and rendered communication with each other difficult. It was only after the warlike events just recorded had caused a complete revolution of the existing state of things, and had brought about a closer connexion of the various tribes, that this dissimilarity slowly disappeared, though not completely enough to eradicate all traces of it to this day.

About the year 12 A.D., Tschaosien was again

subdued by the Emperor of China, who then turned against Kaoli, deposing its king. Himself removed by a revolution (A.D. 25), the old state was re-established in Kaoli.

The power and influence of the latter appears to have considerably increased from this time forward, for not only did it attack China itself during several wars, which lasted many years, but conducted the same with so much success and luck, that its armies penetrated to the northern frontier of the province of Leautong and into the adjacent Fuyü, and subjected these parts for a considerable period to its rule. With alternate success the different states then carried on war against each other. About A.D. 200 the Japanese invaded the state of Sinra for the first time, were joined by Petsi against the former, and got hold of the country.

Goeï-king, king of Kaoli, again invaded the Chinese frontier districts (A.D. 272) and devastated the same, but at length he had to give way to the superior force brought against him, and lost not only all his former conquests but had his capital Huon-tu (Hiventu) destroyed, A.D. 312. Kaoli took possession of the town of Pieng'an, and recaptured all lands of which it had been deprived seventy years ago. Under the reign of the emperor Ming-ti, Queikong, king of Kaoli, again invaded and laid waste the greater part of Leautong. Defeated at last and dethroned, Ngan was chosen as his successor, who became tributary to China. During the government

of the latter's successor the creed of Buddha was first introduced into Corea, A.D. 372. The king Kaolien raised Pieng'an again to the rank of capital, allied himself with Sinra against Petsi, which he partly subdued, destroying its capital. The king of Petsi succeeded only 150 years later in repossessing himself of the country of which he had been robbed. In A.D. 562, Sinra invaded Petsi, rose against the Japanese, who had obtained a footing in the country, and expelling them, put an end to their rule. In A.D. 589, Kaoli invaded China with the assistance of the Mantchus, and having reconquered Leautong, retained possession of this province for several years.

During the reign of the Song dynasty in China, Yuen, king of Kaoli, again invaded Leautong, which he incorporated with his kingdom. The emperor Yangti demanded repeatedly, but in vain, the restitution of the province and the submission of Yuen: his summons having been refused in a contemptuous and scornful manner, he took the field against Corea with a large army, A.D. 611. He succeeded in penetrating as far as the capital Pieng'an, after having broken the obstinate resistance of the enemy; but here his progress was stopped, in consequence of the great losses he had sustained and finding himself short of provisions. Thrice he renewed his attempt to reduce Yuen to submission, but with no better success than at first, and he had at last to content himself with leaving the king of Kaoli in

the undisturbed possession of his conquests and to cede Leautong to him. Kien, the son of Yuen, had not, however, the good fortune to keep the greatly enlarged state inherited from his father. He was assassinated by his own courtiers after a short reign; Taitsong, emperor of China, availed himself of the opportunity to avenge the defeat and ignominy suffered by his father and predecessor, and seriously weakened by inner disorder and tedious warfare, Kaoli was no longer in a position to offer resistance to the formidable Chinese armies, but submitted to the supremacy of China, after having been deprived of all the conquests hitherto made. About A.D. 642 the country had, however, so far recovered, that its king, Kaotsan, felt sufficiently strong and powerful to shake off the Chinese yoke and to refuse to obey China any more. Attacked by the latter, leagued with Sinra, he remained victorious, and not only maintained his independence, but allied himself with Petsi against Sinra, and took possession of a great portion of its territory. Severely pressed, Sinra asked the assistance of the emperor Kaotsong, and with the help of the latter first overcame Petsi, and later Kaoli, after a severe struggle, although both these states had been assisted and supported by the Japanese, who then were likewise expelled the country. In A.D. 687 the grandson of Kaotsan was reinvested as king of Kaoli by the Empress Vou-heou, joined Tschaosien, which had been for years in the possession of China, to the newly established

state, and gave to the kingdom thus enlarged the name of Tschaosien, which denomination was not, however, generally adopted.

The rehabilitation and aggrandizement of Kaoli awakened the old jealousy of the other Corean States afresh, and caused new quarrels, which led to continual strife during a series of seventy years between them. This warfare was carried on with more or less success by the contending States, until Sinra finally succeeded in decidedly getting the upper hand, and after having subdued Petsi and Kaoli, held the undisputed sway of the whole of the peninsula as far as the shores of the Yalou river.

After the submission and dissolution of the kingdom of Kaoli, several smaller districts of the same, combining with the territory as far as the river Liao in Leautong, to the west of the great White Mountains, had formed themselves into a new State, called Pohai, which did not last long, and which ceased to exist independently after the assault of the Mongolians in 922 A.D.

From the year 755 A.D. up to the beginning of the 10th century Sinra maintained its undisputed rule over the subdued countries. In 904 A.D., however, the old Kaoli roused itself, and electing Vang-kien as chief and sovereign, succeeded in throwing off the supremacy of Sinra, and in re-establishing its former independence. Encouraged by the example set by Kaoli, and supported by the

same, Petsi soon followed its lead and likewise freed itself from the Sinra yoke.

But Vang-kien was not satisfied with the recovery and re-establishment of his empire, and aspired to gain for Kaoli the supremacy which Sinra had retained up to this period. In league with Petsi, the old rival of the latter, he invaded Sinra, deposed the reigning dynasty, and took possession of the country, which he joined to his own dominions. In 927 A.D. he left his old capital Pieng'an and took up his residence at Song-yo (the Sun-to of to-day), which city remained the seat of the kings of Corea up to 1397 A.D. After the subjection of Sinra he turned (935 A.D.) against his old ally Petsi, whom he conquered likewise; upon which the three kingdoms, now united, were called Kaoli, a name which was retained to the end of the fourteenth century.

The first part of the history of Corea closes with the final victory of Kaoli over Sinra and Petsi, and the union of the three into one State. These kingdoms, now thoroughly subdued, never recovered their old position and independence, and composed from that time forward the undivided kingdom of Corea, such as it has been maintained to the present day. And lastly, 960 A.D., the king of Corea promised allegiance to the Chinese Emperor, Taitsou, and acknowledged the latter as his liege lord.

By the termination of these lengthy wars, which

naturally had led to the weakening and nearly to the complete ruin of the peninsula, tranquillity and peace were at last restored for a time, which were sadly needed for its re-invigoration. China, enfeebled and torn by internal disorder, no longer had the power to undertake anything hostile against Corea, and at that time appears to have hardly been in a position to maintain her supremacy more than by name; and the country, so long and severely tried, had time to recover quiet and rest after all the vicissitudes endured. This lasted up to the beginning of the 13th century, when renewed disturbances and revolutions in China were to put an end to this peaceful state.

The Mongolians, led by Zenghis-khan, had made themselves masters of all Eastern Asia, had dethroned the reigning dynasty of Song in China; and Zenghis-khan himself had taken the name of Taitsou, and the title of Emperor (1209—1215 A.D.). Afraid of the growing power of the Corean Empire, he attempted to rid himself of the dangerous neighbourhood by subduing the same. A Chinese army was sent into Corea, which crossed the Yalou and took possession of the principal cities in the north and on the east coast. But Zenghis-khan soon needed all his forces for his more important enterprise in India, which diverted his attention again from Corea; and upon the king Tche-vang declaring his readiness to become tributary, he contented himself with the success obtained, and

withdrew his hordes. His son and successor, Octai, desirous of carrying out the work begun by his predecessor, tried to force Mongolian officers upon the Coreans, against whom the people soon rose and slayed every one of them. Enraged at the assassination of his officials and the disgrace that had been inflicted upon his authority, Octai despatched a formidable army, under the command of the Tartar chief Tsalita, against Corea, who succeeded in subduing a large portion of the country. The request of the Corean king, submitted to Octai by his brother, to withdraw his troops, with the agreement to become tributary, was refused; whereupon the king, powerless to resist, fled into the mountains on the east coast. Octai then divided the country into several departments, which were governed by Mongolian officials. But already in the year following the people rose again on all sides against the authorities forced upon them, killing, without exception, all those who were foreigners; while the king, who had collected an army in the mountains, advanced upon the invaders, who, abandoned by their former luck, lost a great number of their people and their leader in the very first battle that took place. Afraid of still greater losses, Octai was induced to conclude peace upon the conditions previously proposed to him, and to quit Corea with his troops. A meeting between Octai and the king of Corea was arranged after the conclusion of peace, when the latter was treated with great regard and distinction, which

induced him to leave his young son at Octai's court, who faithfully promised to have the prince educated in a way befitting his rank and station.

The friendly relations thus established between the two reigning families continued under Koyou, or Kouei, the son of Octai. His reign was, however, a short one. Mangou succeeding him as emperor, a sovereign of warlike and ambitious character, was but ill-inclined to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and to maintain the peaceful intercourse with Corea: he soon pronounced his will and intention to extend his own power by the total subjection of the people with whom his father and grandfather had lived on good terms for years. Breaking the peace suddenly and without notice, he overran the country with his hordes, and penetrated far into the same; but, although successful at first, he could not get the population, which remained faithful to their own king, to acknowledge him as ruler. All attempts to re-establish friendly and peaceable relations upon the base of the old treaties were frustrated through the obstinate refusal of Mangou to listen to any other terms than those of a total submission; and the war was about to break out afresh, when it was stopped by the sudden death of Mangou, which put an end to the ambitious projects he entertained.

He was succeeded by his illustrious son Kublai, by far the most eminent prince of the Mongolian dynasty. Under his reign the power of the Mon-

golians rose to its highest point: with nearly the whole of the Asiatic Continent at his feet, his ambition did not shrink from the plan of conquering and vanquishing Europe, into which he carried terror and dismay by dauntlessly penetrating into the same as far as Bohemia. More judicious and foreseeing than his predecessor Mangou, and already planning the conquest and submission of Japan, he soon perceived his own advantage in cultivating the friendship of the Coreans, to secure their help and assistance. He lost no time in renewing the amicable relations which had formerly subsisted between the two courts; sent back the son of the late king, who had been retained at the Chinese court, with a splendid suite; and, setting all imprisoned Coreans at liberty, he gave them safe conduct to their home. Grateful for all these proofs of favour and benevolence, Corea heartily joined Kublai-khan in the execution of his Japan enterprise, and fully shared all the mishaps and disasters which attended the undertaking. (1281 A.D.)

A powerful and numerous fleet was equipped in Corean ports, to conduct the united armies to Japan. But this formidable armada, after having passed Firato without accident, was overtaken by a fearful tempest near the island of Iki, in which the greater part of the ships were totally lost, with all the crew and soldiers on board, while those who had been wrecked and thrown upon the Japanese coasts were killed by the infuriated natives without pity.

It is reported, that out of all those who had saved themselves on the shores of Japan, only three Mongolians were spared the fate of their companions, under condition to bring back to their homes the news of the defeat and of the total annihilation of the mighty fleet and army intended for the destruction of Japan. After this severe loss Kublai-khan desisted from all further attempts to conquer Japan, greatly disgusted at the frustration of the scheme he had so long and arduously conceived. But during the whole of his reign he remained on good terms with his Corean allies, to whom he gave, until his death, many proofs of his unaltered goodwill and friendship.

This great and wise prince had, however, hardly retired from the scene, when, under his weak and effeminate successors, the Mongolian power receded fast from the height of strength and splendour it had reached during Kublai's lifetime, and was put an end to only a few years later in the downfall of his dynasty. The Mings drove his family from the throne of China, and after consolidating their rule they renewed the old tributary relations with Corea. Up to the end of the 14th century the peace of the latter country was neither internally nor externally disturbed, and it prospered in every respect. But before its close the long pent-up jealousy between the great and most powerful nobles broke out into open dynastic struggles about the government of the country, which ended in the overthrow of the reign-

ing house of Wang, and led to the ascension of the Ni (Chinese Li) family on the Corean throne (1397 A.D.). The latter had long since endeavoured to possess itself of the royal dignity and power, and was fortunate enough to maintain itself in an unbroken line of sovereigns up to our times (1864), when it became extinct at the death of the last king.

Ni, the head and founder of the new dynasty, was one of the best and wisest kings who ever ruled Corea. He gave the country its old name Tschao-sien, chose the town of Wang-sien (the present Saŏul) as his capital and residence on account of its central situation, and first introduced the divisional system of the eight provinces and of districts, still extant in our days.

Taking firmly hold of the reins of government, he caused many salutary laws and institutions to be established, consolidated his power by entering into a tributary treaty with China and by forming an alliance of peace and amity with Japan.

Corea enjoyed now for fully two hundred years, under the reign of the new dynasty, the blessings of peace and the fruits of a growing prosperity. The different tribes, who had in protracted struggles mutually weakened and destroyed each other, and for a long time had to suffer from the consequences, slowly commenced to intermingle, as soon as the grounds upon which their former jealousy was based had disappeared in their union. The period, beginning with the accession of the Ni up to the Japanese

wars, may undoubtedly be called the most happy in the history of this severely tried country. On friendly and amicable terms with her neighbours, who had neither the power nor the inclination to busy themselves with the affairs of others, as they themselves were too much occupied with their own, Corea grew strong under the government of a line of wise sovereigns, who issued good laws, and who tried to protect the people against the oppression of the nobility as well as against extortion of the officials, greatly to the benefit of general prosperity and welfare.

In this peaceful state the country remained undisturbed to the close of the sixteenth century. At this period there reigned in Japan the Taikoon (Shiogoon) Daiko Fidejŏsi, a man of warlike and ambitious disposition, to whom the treaty concluded between China and Japan in 1368 A.D., which rendered the latter empire tributary to the former, had been an obnoxious stumbling-block ever since his accession. Threatened and impeded by the growing influence of his own feudal nobility in the exercise of his sovereign prerogative, he availed himself gladly, under pretence of throwing off the hated Chinese yoke and supremacy, of the opportunity to employ the warlike propensities of his people without, and to divert their attention from inner affairs. He resolved not only to get rid of the Chinese authority, but to conquer China itself (1591 A.D.). For this purpose he first addressed his request to the king of

Corea to join him in this proposed attack. Nothing daunted by the distinct refusal of the Corean government, which, under the just plea of the long existing peace and the friendly relations with the emperor of China, declined to assist him, Fidejŏsi directed his ire first against Corea. He landed, 1592, with a well equipped army of 150,000 men in the south of the peninsula, and rapidly penetrating into the country, which was powerless to oppose him, he took, within a short space of time, possession of the entire kingdom as far as the Yalou and the Tumen. The capital, Saoul, had been taken and destroyed during his victorious march, and Corea lay helpless and prostrate at his feet. It was only when the country was in such a strait, that China, on whose account alone Corea was waged war with, made at last an exertion, after repeated urgent and pressing demands for assistance, and sent a strong army into the field against the common enemy. This army crossed the Corean frontier, repulsed the small, dismembered Japanese bands, and penetrated to the old capital, Pieng'an, where it was opposed by the main body of the enemy's army. A sanguinary battle was fought here, in which the Chinese were completely beaten and routed by the well disciplined and better led Japanese, after which all larger towns were strongly garrisoned and fortified by the latter, who treated the country like a province of their own, and altogether like their property. A great number of Coreans were killed, others were carried off into captivity. Another

newly formed Chinese army, of considerable strength, marched again into Corea in 1593, without obtaining any successes, or being able to eject the Japanese from the firm positions they occupied. Strangely enough, the last had neither followed up their advantage after the decisive defeat of the Chinese, nor carried into effect the original plan of humbling and invading China itself. Most likely the losses sustained by Daiko Fidejŏsi had been very considerable, and he had great difficulties in reinforcing his army; which supposition is borne out by the fact, that he showed himself disposed to make, and finally concluded peace, 1593, in consequence of which he left north Corea with his army, and only retained the fortified places in the south in his possession.

Events which happened a few years later go, however, far to prove that the peaceful disposition of the Japanese Taikoon was not to be taken in earnest, and that he had neither forgotten the refusal of the Corean Government to join him, nor forgiven its alliance with China. Ceding only to necessity, he had postponed his revenge to a more favourable opportunity, and until such time when his weakened and disorganized forces were sufficiently strengthened and reinvigorated.

When, in the year 1596, the Emperor of China sent an embassy to Nipon, it was joined by Corean envoys. The former, transmitting a letter from the emperor to the Taikoon, was at least received; while the Corean envoys were not only denied admittance

to his presence, but were sent back in an insulting manner, and had to leave Japan without being able to fulfil their mission. The letter from the Chinese emperor presented to the Taikoon a new and long-looked-for occasion to wreak his rage upon Corea. Amidst many assurances of friendship and regard which the letter contained, the ambitious and touchy prince was greatly provoked by its tenour of studied affability, and the final promise to confirm him in his feudal tenure for the future, a dependence of which Fidejosi was altogether loath to hear. Collecting an army of 130,000 men, he invaded Corea, for the second time, in 1597, and advanced with such impetuosity that nothing could withstand him. Several fruitless attempts were made by the opposing Chinese army to drive his troops out of the fortified places which they held, and, totally beaten in various battles, it was at last forced to retreat, and to relinquish Corea to the victor. Fidejosi now believed the moment arrived to carry his old plan, to conquer China, into execution; when, just as he set about organizing his forces for this purpose, he was overtaken by death, and his warlike career was put a sudden and unexpected end to.

After the death of Fidejosi, affairs took altogether a different turn. Taking fresh courage, the Chinese again hurried to succour the oppressed Coreans, and this time they were more fortunate in their endeavours. Deprived of the able leadership of

their valiant chief, whose loss was not easily replaced, left without the required reinforcements from the mother country, and short of provisions, the Japanese, completely disbanded and disordered, were soon repelled, and only a small fraction of their former large army succeeded in regaining their homes. According to Corean accounts, a considerable number of the disbanded and fugitive Japanese settled down in the less populous southern parts of the peninsula, and laying aside, in the course of time, their own habits and customs, adopted those of the country of which they had become citizens. They also accepted the Corean language, many expressions of Japanese origin becoming naturalized in the same, and from this amalgamation has sprung the peculiar dialect of South Corea, which is prevalent there to this day. It appears that these settlers, though formerly followers of the invading armies, were received in a friendly and kind spirit by the natives, with whom they soon learned to place themselves on a good footing, as proved by the quick assimilation which has taken place between the two.

The remnants of all those fortifications and fortified camps, which are still to be found in many parts of Corea, date from the period of these Japanese wars; and the natives themselves admit that the best fire-arms they possess, even now-a-days, are those which were either taken from the fugitive Japanese, or collected upon the fields of

battle. Immediately upon the close of the last decisive combats, peace had been concluded between China and Japan, by the terms of which no change of note took place in the relations of these two states. But the grudge which the latter bore against Corea was much more intense and lasting. The surer the Japanese had counted upon the assistance of this country at the beginning of the war with China, the greater was their disappointment upon the non-fulfilment of this expectation, which naturally was still further increased when Corea had actually joined the enemy, and essentially contributed to the cause of their defeat.

Although no acts of open hostility were again committed by them, it took several years, and a great deal of negotiation, before they agreed to conclude a treaty of peace, and it was not before the year 1615 that they finally consented to enter upon such treaty; nor were the terms of the same nearly so advantageous to Corea as they might reasonably have been expected to be by the final result of the war. Japan remained in possession of the island of Tsusima, which had previously belonged to Corea, and obtained the right to keep a garrison of 300 men in Tong-nai (the present Chosian harbour), in the south-east of the peninsula. This post is to this day maintained by the prince of Tsusima, for what reason it is difficult to know, as it has lost all consequence from a political and strategical point of view. The

garrison is confined to a separate, walled in part of the town, and is kept under so strict a control and supervision of the Corean authorities, that it may rather be considered as an imprisoned force than as a free one. The explanation given by the present Coreans of the origin and the reason for keeping up this military post up to our times, is very amusing. They state that this privilege was granted to the Japanese from sheer compassion, and that the latter had gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to provide for a number of their people, whom their own country was no longer able to keep in food. It may, moreover, be added that the Coreans believe this version, and repeat it in good earnest.

Another clause of the peace convention imposed upon Corea, was the yearly payment of 300,000 bags of rice, a tribute which was paid regularly enough in the beginning, but was discontinued after a comparatively short period.

From this time forward the relations between the two countries have never again been amicable, but, on the contrary, have rather become cool and estranged. Very few opportunities presented themselves to cause a nearer and more friendly approach to each other, and whenever circumstances rendered negotiations between them absolutely necessary, they were carried on in the island of Tsusima, and not in Nipon, at the court of the Taikoon, as formerly.

At the beginning of the 17th century the Mantchus had overthrown and deposed the dynasty of the Mings in China, after a reign of 300 years, and the still reigning family of the Ting occupied the throne. The latter formed several designs for the conquest and subjection of Corea, and attempted to execute them. Expeditions were undertaken into Corean territory in 1627 and 1637, both of which resulted, however, in no way successfully, but were completely frustrated by the valorous and pertinacious resistance of the Coreans. The Tartars desisted at last from these vain attempts, and contented themselves with renewing the old treaty of alliance which had subsisted under the Mings. They, moreover, guaranteed the undisturbed possession to the reigning royal family, and renounced for ever any further intention or plan for a renewed attack.

With the final conclusion of these long lasting wars between the three neighbouring countries those foreign sources are closed up, to which we owe the greater part of the historical information given above. The intercourse which for a few succeeding years still continued between them and Corea gradually and slowly diminished, and with the exception of the exchange of formal missions with each other, at fixed periods, it finally ceased altogether. It was followed on the part of the Corean Government by a policy of separation and seclusion so rigorously carried out even against its neighbours,

that the Chinese and Japanese of our days know as little of the country, and are as strictly excluded from the same as other foreign nations. There is nothing to be gathered from Corean sources that could in any way fill up the gap in history from this period onwards. The few native writings, pretending to supply historical accounts, contain in truth nothing whatever that might throw any light upon the subject. They limit themselves solely to the enumeration of the different kings and queens, without furnishing dates of any important events that may have occurred; the most likely conjecture for which, perhaps, is that they really have had no prominent facts to record. The better, and in some measure educated, classes of the population know as little of the late history of their country, though it may be presumed that if anything of real and general interest had occurred it would have been transmitted by tradition. It is true that a journal was kept in every magistrate's office, giving an accurate account of even insignificant occurrences happening in the district; this kind of registration appears, however, to have been carried on more for the purpose of facilitating the superintendence of the central government over the different parts of the country than with a view to record moments of historical interest.[1]

[1] Nearly 400 volumes were found, on the occasion of Admiral Roze's visit to Kangwha, in the buildings of the Prefecture, containing journals of such district records, but which the French

The remembrance of the many lasting and sanguinary struggles with their neighbours, of the enormous sacrifices they had entailed both in lives and common property, may have been the first reason to induce the Corean kings to adopt their subsequent line of policy by a complete isolation of the country from the outer world; and this cannot be looked on as at all unjustifiable at the time and under the circumstances, as the only means to prevent the recurrence and to escape the consequences of complications for the future were thought to lie in total seclusion. Other reasons co-operated, however, in course of time, in confirming the Government more and more in continuing this line of conduct. No longer subject to, or afraid of foreign influence and intrigue, and seeing their authority gradually increase and augment, the reigning family aimed at rendering the royal power absolute and illimited, and they succeeded to a degree not again met with in any of the other Asiatic nations, however despotically and autocratically ruled.

While in Japan the increasing strength of the great and nearly independent princes and daimios counterbalanced the power of the spiritual and

believed at the time to contain matters of great historical moment. These books were sent to Paris and placed in the then Bibliothèque Impériale, where they still are. It is almost unnecessary to add, after what has been stated above, that they are not of the slightest value for the purpose of researches on the general history of the country.

temporal sovereigns, nothing of the kind was to be feared from the large noble families in Corea, whose influence had suffered a severe check through interior struggles and disorder; and the Government, by sheltering the lower population from the oppression of the higher classes, managed to bring the former to side with it, and prevented the revival of the power of the nobility. The less new aggressions were to be apprehended from their neighbours, and the more it became improbable in course of time that China and Japan, weakened and sufficiently occupied with their own affairs, would attempt to meddle with those of Corea, the greater care was taken by the ruling power of the latter country, from fear of having their own authority undermined, to exclude any foreign influence, and to prevent the free intercourse of their people with other nationalities; nor can it be denied that they have fully and completely succeeded in all measures taken for this purpose. The weakened position of the central government of Pekin was well enough known in Saoul. It was also known there that the powerful nobles of Japan never submitted themselves fully to the dominion of the temporal emperor in Jeddo, or allowed the latter's mastery; and it was feared, and not without reason, that it would be impossible to maintain a despotic rule as soon as passing events in the other states got more generally known by putting down the barriers, and commenced to exercise an influence upon the minds of the

Corean people. Late events have proved that this calculation has not been altogether wrong, for with progressing times and improved means of communication many news of outside occurrences have found their way into the country, notwithstanding all official attempts to shut them out, which have not failed to ferment discontent with the prevalent state of affairs among a great section of the population.

It has already been mentioned, that upon the accession of the Tartar dynasty to power in China, the latter had at last been compelled to content itself with a renewal of the old existing treaties, which had accorded to the Chinese emperor the rights of liege lord, and imposed upon Corea the payment of a certain annual tribute. At first, and so long as there was any cause to fear aught from the more powerful state, Corea met her treaty obligations with a good enough grace; but with the decay of the Chinese power, and the growth of her own, they were less scrupulously fulfilled, until they were only considered to be a mere matter of form, which were habitually continued. The exchange of embassies between Pekin and Saoul, which was kept up very regularly at first, is at present limited to a mission sent at long intervals to the Chinese court, which, in the shape of presents, delivers a few articles of Corean produce, such as paper, ginsing, &c., to the emperor, for which other articles of the same value are returned.

The Chinese envoys, who were formerly sent from time to time to Saoul, showed rather a presumptuous and overbearing manner. Later on, when the Coreans felt their own power, these envoys were still courteously received, but they were surrounded by spies, who watched their doings so narrowly, that they appeared to be rather prisoners than ambassadors of a sovereign power. Most likely on this account, and to escape similar treatment in future, no more Chinese missions have been sent to Saoul for many years past. It is yet the general, but altogether erroneous view, that the relations between China and Corea are still those of liege and vassal. Nothing of the kind is actually the case. Corea is a perfectly free and independent state, the same as Siam, and whatever covenants or treaties may formerly have been entered into or agreed upon, at present they are only waste paper, and have long since been forgotten; and no one is more aware of this than the Coreans themselves.

After the failure of the French expedition under Rear-Admiral Roze, and in the exultation of the great victory which he presumed to have gained, the regent sent a message to Pekin (1866), and sneeringly asked if he should come and help to turn out all foreigners from China, as the Chinese themselves were apparently not able to do this alone. At the same time he does not disdain to shelter himself behind the name of the Chinese emperor,

when it suits his purpose, as has been related in another place.[1] In reality, China does not even pretend to possess the slightest influence upon inner Corean affairs, which has been shown clearly, when the French envoy, on the occasion of the murder of the foreign missionaries, demanded satisfaction from the Tsunli Yamen in Pekin. He was plainly told to address his complaint and demands direct to Corea, as China had neither the means nor the will to take upon itself any responsibility for occurrences which had taken place in that country.

Passing over the apparently eventless period from the beginning of the 17th to the close of the 18th century, we find in the later Corean history several moments worth noticing and of more than ordinary interest, which have not as yet become generally known, and which could not fail to influence to some extent the after-state of affairs. About the time last mentioned, several Coreans attached to the embassy at Pekin had been converted to the Roman Catholic creed. By them Christianity was first introduced into Corea, and had spread rather rapidly within a comparatively short space of time. The dreadful state of degradation of the Corean priesthood, their abject mode of life, and the total disrespect into which it has fallen in consequence, has been alluded to elsewhere.[2]

[1] Chapter viii., Second Voyage to Corea.
[2] Chapter iv., Manners and Customs.

This may be considered as one of the causes which facilitated the introduction of the new creed; another is based on the character of the people. An observation, founded upon many years' experience, may not be out of place here, and that is, that among all Asiatic nationalities there is probably none more inclined to be converted to Christianity than the Corean.

A Chinaman gets baptized in consideration of the worldly and material advantages which he expects to gain thereby; the Corean has nothing of the sort to expect, but only persecution, torture, and often death itself. He becomes a Christian from conviction, not from any mercenary motives. There is no intention to draw a comparison here as to the relative merits of the labours of missionaries of either the Roman Catholic or Protestant Churches; but it is an undeniable fact—and every one conversant with the matter, especially as far as China is concerned, must subscribe to it—that whatever success has been obtained is for the greater part due to the work of the Roman missionaries. Apart from the fact that the latter identify themselves more closely with their work by adopting the dress, the habits, and the whole mode of life of the natives, becoming, as it were, one with them, it must not be left out of sight, that the outward splendour of the Roman Catholic rites is much more likely to have an enticing effect upon the minds and senses of Asiatics than the simple

and unostentatious service of the Protestant Church. And on this account it will be easily understood why the Coreans, of a quickly moved and highly susceptible temperament, eagerly turned to accept the doctrines of the new faith, which presented itself in a form so pleasing and acceptable to them, and which soon counted its adherents by thousands.[1]

[1] If I had followed my own inclination, I should have wished either not to have touched upon this subject at all, or to say as little upon it as possible. But as missionaries have always played a prominent part in the history of the nations of Eastern Asia, and as their work is frequently and intimately connected with the inner development of the people, it would have been impossible to pass them over without notice, or in common justice, to avoid speaking of the eminent services rendered by Roman Catholic missionaries, and of the greater success that attends their labours compared with those of their Protestant colleagues. Nor would I have it supposed, and I distinctly disclaim any intention, in substantiating a fact known to every one in the East, of wishing to say anything derogatory or detractive of the value of Protestant missionary work, as such. I should consider it as one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon all races of the Asiatic continent, if they were really and truly converted to the doctrines of Christianity, no matter whether this be done by Roman Catholic or by Protestant missionaries. But I regret to say that, as a rule, the results obtained by the latter are not in keeping with the enormous amount of money and the pains spent upon them. Who does not remember the statement contained in Albert Smith's book on China, a statement which I heard him personally repeat, to the effect that, having been shown over St. Paul's College in Hongkong by Dr. Smith, and upon congratulating the latter at the close of his visit upon the success which he thought the school must have proved, the bishop replied: "Alas, Sir, I regret to say that you are in error; there is only one of all

Several attempts, made at the time by Roman Catholic missionaries, to gain admission into Corea, failed, and the new creed was at first propagated by native converts only. The number of Corean Christians towards the end of the century is said to have reached nearly ten thousand. The government, although fully aware of what was going on, appears to have remained perfectly passive, on account perhaps of the favour with which the then reigning king is reported to have regarded their doings. After the death of the king however, in the beginning of this century, a persecution of the Christians

our pupils who has turned out well, and that one has become a billiard-marker!" The then bishop of Victoria was not the person to represent such matters in a worse light than they really appeared, though there is reason to presume that he deeply regretted afterwards having let the truth escape him in an unguarded moment. The ill-success attending Protestant missionary labour rested to a great extent with the persons who were formerly sent out to do the work, and certainly neither foreigners nor natives can be blamed, if the calling of a missionary was looked upon for many years with little consideration and with a feeling of distrust. Men like the late Dr. Morrison of Canton, Dr. Medhurst of Shanghai, and some more like them, whose memory is still cherished and revered by all those who have had the good fortune to know them, or who have heard of their doings, were unfortunately but few and far between, while the great body of their colleagues was decidedly not fit for the work they were sent out to perform. At the same time I am bound to state, and I am happy to be able to do so, that a great improvement has taken place of late years in this respect, and that better and greater care is now taken in the selection of such persons, to whom the arduous and responsible work of missionary labour is entrusted.

broke out, in which many of them lost their lives, but which did not stop the spreading of the new doctrine. For the first time, two Roman Catholic missionaries entered the country secretly in 1835, who were joined in 1837 by a third. They even settled in Saoul, and remained in that capital quite unmolested until 1839. For reasons which have never been cleared up, they were then suddenly arrested, and, after a short trial, decapitated, upon which a fresh persecution was undertaken against all converts, which was carried on with great severity. When the murder of these three missionaries became known, French ships of war approached the coast several times, with the object to try and get satisfaction, but they could not communicate with the far distant chief authorities, and soon retired, without having been able to effect their purpose.

By no means deterred by the fate of the first, others soon followed their lead, using the precaution to enter the country under the covering protection of the mourning dress, which allowed them to go about unquestioned and unmolested where ever they liked,[1] and in this manner twelve missionaries had succeeded in getting over the frontiers, and to erect, secretly at first, stations in various places of the province of Kienkei, and to gradually increase in influence. The last king of the Ni dynasty was a

[1] The details of the peculiar custom attending deep mourning are to be found in Chapter iv.

very kind-hearted sovereign, and generally beloved on account of his benevolence, who did not throw any difficulties in their way, and, by the aid of some converts of high standing, they had actually obtained a footing at court itself, as the queen, though not baptized herself, inclined strongly to the new creed, and assisted them indirectly as far as she could. Bishop Berneux, the head of the Roman Catholic Mission, who appears to have been a rather narrow-minded and somewhat fanatic personage, is principally to blame that several highly favourable opportunities for opening the country during this period passed by unheeded, as there can be no doubt this could have been effected easily enough and in an amicable way, if the foreign powers had been made acquainted with the events happening at this time. The opening of Japan to foreign trade had already caused the Government to be stirred from its security; but when the defeat of the Chinese took place in 1861, and soon after the capture of Pekin, together with the destruction of the imperial summer-palace became known, it was seized with downright panic. A state council was held, in which resolutions were passed to accede to all demands which were expected to be made shortly by the western powers, and to throw the country open to foreign intercourse; and the Government went even so far as to designate one of the royal palaces, which was to be pulled down to make room for the erection of a Christian church, in atonement for the

murder previously committed on the three missionaries.

As this resolve of the council of state was at the time known all over the country, and has been confirmed not only by later inquiries on the spot, but by communications of the surviving missionaries to the author, there is no room left to doubt that Mr. Berneux, who had speedy information of everything that passed, must have been aware of it at once. No explanation can be given why he chose to keep resolutions of such eminent importance to himself, without communicating them to such quarters where they might have been acted upon without delay. He was probably afraid of losing the great personal influence he had gained, or to see missionaries of other confessions enter the field upon the opening of the country. This fine opportunity was thus allowed to pass away without being made use of,—and as no after-event took place which threatened a hostile action on the part of foreign nations, the panic disappeared as fast as the danger ceased, and the Government was finally led to the belief that the western powers had been deterred from action only by the renown of Corean valour and invincibility. Mr. Berneux, however, was at no distant date to pay dearly for his inconceivable line of conduct, which was to cost his life, and that of most of his colleagues. The most incomprehensible part of the whole affair, however, is that the same Mr. Berneux, when another almost as favourable opportunity to

redeem his error presented itself several years later, not only lost this also, but actually reproached the Corean authorites with their obstinacy in refusing to set up an intercourse with the western powers.

China had ceded by treaty to Russia, in 1853, the whole territory on the east coast south of the Amoor down to the Tumen, the northern boundary of Corea. This cession was looked at with great disfavour by the latter, to which the neighbourhood of this power caused a feeling of discomfort and disquietude, as further encroachments on the part of Russia on Corean territory were apprehended. This fear has since continually been kept alive by the occasional appearance of Russian men-of-war on the coast for surveying purposes. But in 1865 a Russian vessel approached the coast more closely than before, and made proposals to enter into commercial relations. Frightened by this renewed attempt, the Government addressed itself to Mr. Berneux, promising to grant him and all Christians full liberty in the exercise of their religion, in consideration of his trying to persuade the Russians to desist from their demands and to leave the country. This offer was rejected by the bishop, on the plea that he was not a Russian and did not profess the Russian creed; and at the same time he expressed his fear and conviction, that sooner or later the Russians would attempt to possess themselves of the country.

By accepting the offer, he would no doubt have gained the good graces of the authorities, and pro-

bably have avoided the misfortune which afterwards befell him; for he would at all events have shown his good-will to lend his assistance when required, the more so as the vessel in question had left without waiting for a reply.

The death of the last direct descendant of the kings of the Ni dynasty, which took place in 1864, who had ruled the country mildly, and who had been much liked personally, soon proved to be a great disaster to the country. The direct line having become extinct, a boy four years old, the son of a distant and up to that time rather unknown relation of the royal family, was adopted by the queen dowager, and designated as successor to the late sovereign. A council of regency was established to manage affairs until the king elect had become of age, and his father was appointed as one of its members. At first the latter kept himself rather in the background; gradually however, he commenced to show himself in his true character. Ambitious and unscrupulous to a degree, he willingly lent his ear to the insidious and selfish counsels of some unprincipled nobles, and instead of continuing to remain a temporary representative of his son, and a member, restricted in power, of the regency council, he soon endeavoured to get hold of the entire and unlimited power over the destiny of the kingdom. He succeeded but too well in his purpose, took the title of regent, and commenced to rule the country with a rod of iron, as it submitted only unwillingly

and reluctantly to his sway. Suspicious and distrustful, like all usurpers, hated to the utmost by the people, his exclusive care was directed to ward off any extraneous influence upon the latter, which might strengthen the opposition to himself, and weaken his own authority. And from this time forward a reign of despotism and of terror has been the order of the day, such as even the Coreans, accustomed to the forms of an absolute government, had never previously experienced.

Shortly after Mr. Berneux, with a lamentable want of foresight and discrimination, had rejected the second favourable opportunity which was offered to him on the occasion of the approach of the Russian vessel, the first outbreak of the regent's ire was directed against the foreign missionaries and the native converts. Mr. Berneux, and eight of his companions, were suddenly arrested and thrown into prison. One report has it, that the Bishop was given the choice of leaving the country, which he refused; this is more than questionable, taking into consideration the character of the whole proceeding. Their death was resolved upon; and a few days later, in the spring of 1866, the nine unfortunate men were decapitated. Three of the twelve foreign missionaries, Messrs. Féron, Ridel, and Calais, who were stationed at some distance from the capital, received timely warning of the fate which had befallen their colleagues, and with the assistance of the natives they managed to hide themselves, and finally to escape from the claws of

the regent, who had ordered the strictest search to be made for them. But the death of the missionaries alone did not satisfy him. A downright hunt commenced for all native Christians, which in cruelty surpassed all previous persecutions under which they had suffered. Many thousands were put to death, and entire villages were nearly depopulated.[1] This persecution was not, however, confined to Christians only; it soon extended to all those who were, however slightly, suspected to be opposed and hostile to the new state of things. This was followed by an interdict of the yearly fair held in the north, by a prohibition of import of all foreign goods, especially European, transgressors being threatened with capital punishment, and by a systematic suppression of all branches of industry which were not absolutely required for the necessaries of life. A young Corean was killed by special order of the regent, merely because he evinced a great desire for learning and distinguished himself by a very fine handwriting; every prominent or growing talent was to be crushed in the bud, so as not to become dangerous to him. This might look like exaggeration, if it was not unfortunately too true. This is only one case out of several similar ones which have taken place, and

[1] Several years later I received from natives in Corea a list containing the names of the places in which these massacres had taken place, and the number of killed in each. Up to that period the number of persons put to death had reached a total of more than 10,000.

which are quite publicly spoken of by the inhabitants. But he earned still more hatred and scorn from all classes of the population, when he commenced to coin false copper money and set it in circulation, any refusal to accept the spurious coin being punished unrelentingly with death.

Such is the man, who, nominally as regent, in reality as absolute master, reigned at that time in Corea, keeping down with an iron hand the people, who hated and despised him. Hard and cruel to his subjects, malignant and distrustful even towards the persons who are always about him, he is covetous to an extraordinary degree, which makes him shrink from no means to enrich himself. His declared favourites, who lead him, and willingly lend their hand to every vile action, are miserable and venal creatures, and are looked upon with even a greater degree of hatred and contempt than himself. Of his own importance and of the extent of his power, he has so high an opinion, that he considers no sovereign in the world as his equal; and in this favourable opinion of his own superiority he has not a little been confirmed by the failure of the last French attack, which made him look upon himself as invincible and beyond the reach of any power of the universe.

When the news of the murder of the missionaries and of the events which had passed in Corea reached China, the then French *chargé d'affaires* in Pekin, acting under the mistaken impression that the

Chinese Government possessed some political influence with the Coreans, addressed a letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he demanded satisfaction and the punishment of the regent. So little was he at the time acquainted with the real state of affairs in Corea, that in his despatches he always speaks of the "king" of Corea as the one responsible for what had occurred, of which the poor youth, who was to be king when of age, was as innocent as himself. As might have been expected, Prince Kung, in his reply, not only declared himself perfectly unaware of the facts brought to his notice, but declined on the part of his Government any responsibility for what had happened, as it had neither the means nor the power to influence the policy of the authorities in Saoul.' In reply to this despatch, Monsieur de Bellonet, who in his first letter had already spoken of the "king" of Corea as "deposed," answered, that he cared little to know the grounds which the Corean Government might bring forward in its defence for the murder of the missionaries, and that the time had passed for accepting any excuses upon the subject, the more so as now, after the commencement of warlike preparations against Corea, it depended entirely upon the mercy of his Government how the "former king" was to be disposed of; and it was to be well understood, that the expedition would not return before having effected its objects, one of which was to chastise all

those who had been guilty of the murder in question. Prince Kung's reply to this bombastic declaration was firm and dignified. He simply returned thanks for the kindness which prompted the French *chargé d'affaires* to communicate the news of the intended expedition to him, without alluding in any way to the other contents of the despatch received.[1] Although there can be little doubt that the high-sounding letters, and the threats they held forth, were written without the concurrence or even the knowledge of his Government, and were inspired by the *chargé d'affaires* personally, there can also be no question that the expedition itself was undertaken upon direct orders from home. Just on the point of starting for Corea, the expeditionary force was ordered suddenly to Saigon, on account of an insurrection which had broken out in Cochin China, and several months elapsed before its return to China, during which the French Government had had sufficient time to be made acquainted with the position of affairs, and to give instructions upon the course to be pursued.

Rear-Admiral G. Roze, commanding the French squadron, was a man neither wanting in courage nor in energy, who might have been expected to conduct an expedition like this to a successful issue. The means at his command were more than sufficient,

[1] See United States Diplomatic Correspondence.

when properly handled, to bring the Corean Government to reason, as it had no force to oppose him; a firm and diplomatic management of the business could not have resulted but in obtaining full satisfaction and in the opening of the country to the world, a result which was the least that was to be expected after the vaunting despatches written by the French *chargé d'affaires* to the Pekin Government. Towards the end of September 1866, the French men-of-war designated to form the expeditionary squadron at last met at Chefoo. It consisted of Admiral Roze's flag-ship, the steam frigate "La Guerrière," the steam corvettes "Primauguet" and "La Place," the gunboats "Déroulède," "Le Brethon," "Tardif," and one or two small vessels more of the same class.[1] A few days prior to

[1] A letter, written in English, which I had received a few days previous, may follow here *verbatim*:—

H.I.M. Frigate "Guerrière,"
Chefoo, 15th September.

SIR,—I thankfully acknowledge the receipt of your letter. The chart, &c., surveyed under your orders, which you have the kindness to offer me, will be of the greatest utility for ensuring the security of the ships under my orders, therefore I beg you to send the charts and any other information you think could be for us of good use, as soon as possible.

Trusting that you will accept all my thanks for your kind proposal, and my compliments for the cleverness with which you have undertaken so hard and difficult a work,

I remain, Sir,
Your very obliged Servant,
G. ROZE, *Rear Admiral,*
Commander-in-Chief of the French Squadron in China and Japan.

ERNEST OPPERT, ESQ.

Admiral Roze's arrival at Chefoo, one of the three escaped missionaries, Monsieur Ridel, had managed with the assistance of natives of Corea, and accompanied by several converts, to reach this place in a junk; and as some of the latter had some acquaintance with the coast approaches, they were taken on board the "Guerrière" as pilots. Instead, however, of conducting the squadron into the main branch of the river Kan-Kyang, which had just been discovered, they chose a small and very narrow branch of the river, which runs between Kangwha Island and the main land, as entry for the ascent. The larger vessels of the squadron had in consequence to anchor a good distance below the south point of Kangwha, while they might have ascended many miles higher by taking the main river. The "Primauguet" ran upon a bank, and had to return for repairs before the action commenced. Several of the small gun-boats, sent out to reconnoitre, went up the small channel as far as the north point of Kangwha, while the "Déroulède" and another vessel of small draft, with Admiral Roze on board, continued the voyage down the river, until they got within a mile or two of Saoul. Here they delivered despatches for the Government, and returned after a stay of a few hours only. None of the ships had met with the slightest resistance during their passage. This happened on the 27th of September.

The regent meanwhile, and his government, were

in a state of panic, and the people awaited the issue with the greatest anxiety in the hope of seeing their wish to have the country thrown open fulfilled, which would soon have been followed by the downfall of their oppressors. Without an armed force at command, the Government was fully prepared to have to submit, as the belief in its own invincibility melted away fast enough when the danger was close at hand. A few bands of tiger-hunters were hurriedly collected, more with a view to make a show than with the hope to be able to offer resistance. *More Asiatico*, the regent of course tried to prevaricate and to gain time, but still he invited the French admiral to come to Saoul and to talk matters over with a view to a peaceable arrangement. For what reason this proposal was considered unsatisfactory and refused, is incomprehensible. Surely there could not have been the least danger for Admiral Roze, with an escort of several hundred marines, to go to Saoul, and it would be derogatory to him even to hint that any consideration of fear had anything to do with his refusal to accede to the proposed meeting in the capital. Instead of doing this, several hundred men were landed a day after, who marched upon the peaceful and unprotected town of Kangwha, occupied the same and demolished the place almost completely. There had been no resistance whatever, but the place was treated as if it had been captured by assault. As the houses of the poor inhabitants

contained no treasures or valuables of any kind, the furniture was smashed and destroyed; only in the chief magistrate's office a quantity of silver ingots, to the value of more than 100,000 frcs, were found and carried off. What sort of satisfaction there was to be got from the sacking of an open town, the unfortunate inhabitants of which were as innocent of what had occurred as the French admiral himself, is difficult to understand; if it was considered as punishment to the Government, there certainly could not have been a greater error committed, for none of the loss fell upon the regent himself—while, to say the least of it, it was utterly unwise and showed a great want of discrimination in proceeding thus against the people who previously were not at all hostile or badly disposed to foreigners, and whose ire was thus unnecessarily roused. A day or two after the glorious occupation of Kangwha a small body of marines were sent off to reconnoitre a hill upon which a low wall, with a gate, had been erected. A great number of tiger-hunters were hidden behind the latter. The French, advancing without caution, fell into the ambuscade, and being received with a vigorous fire, they lost thirty-five killed and wounded within a short time, upon which they retreated to their ships. Admiral Roze at once gave up all further attempts to carry through the object of his mission—the squadron was ordered to return and the "Guerrière" arrived again in Chefoo on the morning of the 3rd of October.

Eight days had hardly elapsed from the time the expedition had started up to its return in port.[1]

Such was the pitiful end of an expedition undertaken with so much éclat, which had been commenced, before it had started, with the announcement of the deposition of the "king" of Corea on the part of the French *chargé d'affaires*. But of the parties concerned none was perhaps more startled and agreeably surprised than the Corean Government itself, which had never expected to gain so easy a victory, and which had looked for quite a different issue. The regent, instead of having been humbled and compelled to submit, was made completely giddy by his victory, and more than ever convinced that no power on earth was able to stand up against him or defeat him.

It is deeply to be regretted that the French enterprise, which ought to have resulted in success, has thus ended in a fiasco, which made it the laughing stock of the natives of China and Corea. Independent of this, a deep and serious injury has, through its miscarriage, been inflicted upon foreign interests in Eastern Asia. Cunning enough to show no signs of satisfaction at the defeat and ill-success of the French, the Pekin Government secretly rejoiced not the less, and made a note of it for future

[1] Captain Joüon, commanding the "Guerrière," and chief of the staff of the Admiral, advised me, by order of the last, under date the 4th of October, of the return of the squadron to Chefoo on the previous day.

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occasion; and if this occasion has not as yet presented itself, we owe it less to its goodwill than to its weakness, which fortunately prevents a repetition of the scene so successfully enacted in Corea.[1]

In the spring of 1868, the American steam frigate "Shenandoah" was despatched to the Pieng'an river on the west coast, to make inquiries into the fate of the crew of the American schooner "General Sherman," which vessel, as has been stated elsewhere, had been wrecked in attempting to enter the river, the whole of her crew being put to death by order of the Corean authorities in the spring of 1866. The frigate could only get a little beyond the mouth of the river, when the water was found too shallow for a vessel of her size. Her boats were despatched some way up, but they were soon received with marks of such unmistakable hostility, that they had quickly to retire. An impudent message was sent on board, ordering the commanding officer to turn back immediately, unless he wished to be treated like the French, who had been easily beaten and driven away; the same fate was to be in store for every foreign power venturing to intrude

[1] When I had the pleasure to meet Admiral Roze afterwards, I frankly expressed both my regret and surprise to him at the ill-success of the expedition, which, according to my knowledge of Corean affairs ought easily to have been avoided, to which he replied, "J'ai obtenu tout ce que je voulais obtenir." In what this consisted I, and I believe everybody else, has been at a loss to find out to this hour.

beyond the Corean frontiers. The message concluded with the statement, that Corea was now no longer afraid to encounter any foreign foe. The letter was shown by the Captain of the frigate, who of course did not understand the contents, to the Taoutae of Chefoo upon his return, and it is said that this official did not chuckle a little when asked to translate the epistle.

Within the last few years very little has transpired of the state of the kingdom. Rumours have been about at various times that serious differences had arisen between this country and Japan, on what account has not been stated. Most likely the Japanese Government had reason to complain of the ill-treatment of some of its shipwrecked subjects, or of the way in which the Japanese garrison in Chosien had been treated, whom the regent, in his overbearing pride, may have tried to get rid of. It was more than once reported that war was imminent between the two countries, and that Japan was collecting an army to invade the neighbouring state, but nothing has actually been done up to this time. A Japanese embassy is said to have been sent by a war vessel to the west coast, which the regent at first refused to receive, but which at last gained admittance to Saoul. But of what has occurred since, whether these differences have finally been adjusted, or whether they are likely to lead ultimately to a hostile encounter, we have no knowledge. There is no doubt a party in Japan

strongly inclined for such a war; on the other hand, this country has herself suffered of late years from a series of inner political complications and revolutions against the Government of the Mikado, which will hardly place the latter in a position to deprive itself of a large military force for the purposes of external warfare.

A report of the death of the young king has also been current abroad at one time; it has neither been confirmed nor denied however, and there have been no means to ascertain its truth.

From remote and dark ages, over a period extending for more than four thousand years, we have followed the history of this remarkable country up to the latest dates. But to us it remains as much as ever a "forbidden land," a land which no foreigner dares to enter without running the risk of paying for his hardihood with his life. Expeditions after expeditions are sent out to discover the North Pole, dauntless travellers have penetrated into the dark and unknown regions of Central Africa, and still explore this continent to open it up to commerce and science, and here, within a day's steam from the nearest Chinese coast, we stand on the threshold of a country with a history of four thousand years, into which country we do not venture to demand admission because a semi-barbarous Government, against the wishes of its own people, chooses to write "no entrance" over its doors, and bids defiance to the whole civilized world.

CHAPTER IV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, CASTES, RELIGION, ETC.

Castes and their degrees in Corea—Slavery and bondage—Religion—Remarks of Père Regis on Corea—Dress—General character of the people—Manners, customs, and state of civilization—Marriages—Position of women in Corea—Funerals—Medical men and principal diseases—Dwellings, public buildings, and their interior—Habits of life—Food, drink, wine—Music and dancing—Means of conveyance and transport—Crimes and their punishment—Coins, weights and measures—Calendar, &c.—Army and Navy, their armament—Precautionary measures for coast protection, signals, &c.

THE peculiarity of the Corean races and the difference between the same and the neighbouring nations, shows itself mainly in the strict and rigid division of the castes, which part the various ranks of the population of the peninsula from each other, showing on one hand some analogy to the caste institution prevailing amongst the Hindoos in India. There exists, however, this notable difference between the two, that while with the latter this separation is based upon religious principles and customs, no religious movement appears as its cause in Corea, where its origin seems solely attributable to political reasons, which have been main-

tained and kept up to our times by the Government for reasons of its own.

The first and foremost rank, immediately after the king and the members of the royal family, who stand absolutely above and beyond these castes, is taken up by the so-called nobles, descendants of the old families of chieftains, who are again subdivided in two degrees, the "Niang-pan, or two classes," the civil and the military nobility. Of these two classes, between which a great deal of jealousy has always reigned, the civil portion is by far the most powerful and considerable, having successfully deprived the other of many rights and privileges, and compelling the same to take up only a secondary place. The only change in this takes place during war times, when the chief commander of the troops possesses almost dictatorial powers, which he can extend to officers of inferior rank: under ordinary circumstances, however, and in times of peace, the military range below the civil nobility, and it has happened that the former have had to submit to being placed, in quiet times, below any such learned graduates, who did not even occupy an official or a mandarin's position.

These two classes of nobles enjoy the special privilege to frequent the royal court, and to be about the person of the king; and in course of time they have possessed themselves of the exclusive right of occupying public offices, which is maintained by the nobles of the civil order in the seizure

of all high and inferior state offices and dignities, and by the military in the like manner as regards all charges of their branch. The king indeed is at liberty to ennoble any person whom he wishes to reward for important services, or whom he is willing to raise to please some favourite of his own; but this happens very rarely and takes generally the form of nomination to some mandarin's office in a particular district, which includes at the same time the chance of enrichment for the nominee. Such elevation and nomination having once taken place, ennobles likewise the whole family of the person so favoured. These new-made titles of nobility are, however, not held in the same estimation as the old inherited ones, and the public Corean witticism denominates the families so raised as the rootless nobility.

Following upon these two first classes we find the caste of the half-nobles, numerically a very weak class, which forms, as it were, the transition from the nobility to the civic classes. These also enjoy the right to fill certain offices from their ranks, principally those of Government secretaries, of translators of Chinese, and of some others.

After these comes the civic caste, which consists of the better and wealthier portion of the city inhabitants; as a rule it differs but little from the mass of the people "proper," perhaps only in so far as, according to Corean views, it is considered to possess a shade more *savoir-vivre* and a higher

degree of education, which latter means the knowledge and understanding of the Chinese written characters. This class counts amongst its numbers the merchants, manufacturers, and most kinds of artisans.

Next follows the people's caste, which comprising the gross of the people, is naturally the most numerous of all, and includes all villagers, farmers, agriculturists, shepherds, huntsmen, fishermen, and the like.

Between the people and the slaves or bondsmen, who occupy the lowest rank, we meet that most curious and peculiar institution, the so-called "despised or despicable" caste, which is again divided into several degrees. It is a matter of some difficulty to say anything of the origin and the limitation of this caste, which, while it ranks socially below the common people, is by no means the one in the worst position as to worldly and monetary advantages. It lies also within the rights and powers of the king, to raise even a member of the despicable caste to a higher rank; and it has happened in exceptional cases that a mandarin's office, and with it the title to nobility, has been granted to people of this class. All prefectural officials are taken from the upper two degrees of this caste—they conduct all the writing work, keep books and accounts—and these officials, low as their social standard may be, are often sufficiently wealthy and powerful to have great influence with their superiors, whom they

know well enough to put to use for their own advantage.

Butchers and workmen in leather count to this caste, and last—on the lowest step of this social scale, scarcely above the slaves or bondsmen—we find the priests or bonzes. As the latter will be specially spoken of further on, it need only be mentioned here that they do not rise by character or by manners above the level which they occupy.

Another institution peculiar to the country, which we find neither in China nor in Japan, is that of bondage, which has been maintained to this day, although not quite as rigorously as in olden times. In some respects the position of the Corean bondsmen may be considered similar to that hitherto taken up by their Russian brethren; comparatively, however, the system in Corea has not been carried on to the same extent as in Russia, showing altogether a somewhat milder form, and, like the castes, is divided in several degrees.

The first and best situated class comprises the crown bondsmen, who inhabit their own villages, these latter being at once recognizable by the postal station they possess, the keeping and the service of which is entrusted to and considered as a special duty of the villagers. These bondsmen of the crown are freed from all direct taxes, and the imposts to which they are subject consist of a slight share from the revenues of the country they are bound to cultivate, which share goes straight into

the royal treasury. Besides they enjoy many advantages, which render the apparent dependence of their situation more easily supportable; they stand under the direct protection of the highest authorities, who are able to guard them against the extortions of the Mandarins, and save them from the rapacity of the nobles—dangers to which the common people are but too much exposed. Consequently it happens but very rarely that bondsmen of this class leave their villages to obtain their liberty—which they are easily able to do—and on account of the badly managed control and supervision to which they are subjected, might lose themselves without great difficulty amongst the crowd of the people, without running the danger of any serious efforts being made for their recovery or recaptivation.

Bondsmen belonging to nobles and private people are as a rule treated very well and mildly, nor can their lot be called a very harsh one. They have to look after the domestic service and after the cultivation of their masters' lands; they often live separately in their own cottages, having to give up the produce of their farms to their owners, which does not however prevent, in many cases at least, owing to their economical habits, their finding themselves pecuniarly better situated than their proprietors, and often being in a position to get their liberty by purchase. I have not been able to ascertain whether a legally fixed price is established

for this purpose, or whether the amount of purchase-money depends upon the proprietor only, or is subject to convention between the latter and the bondsmen, being regulated by the working power of the person who wishes to be set free; but I incline to the belief that the last way is generally chosen. The mistress of the house selects those from the younger daughters of her bondsmen, whom she wishes to employ as domestic servants, these girls being educated with her own daughters; the boys are less cared for, and their education is generally left to the parents themselves. Frequently they are even set at liberty altogether, and this is done with little objection on the part of the owners, as these sons of bondsmen often intermarry with free women, whose children become legally exempt from the state of bondage.

The Coreans themselves are so little acquainted with the history of their own country, that it is almost impossible to obtain any correct version of the origin of this bondage system, which, in however mild a form it may appear, still actually exists as legally sanctioned slavery. With some degree of certainty, however, the solution of this question may be traced back to the time before the union of the different Corean tribes, and it may be accepted as a well-founded presumption that during the interior feuds, which lasted for many years previously, the prisoners of war were carried away and treated as slaves by the victors. The natives

do not seem to be able to give any other explantion as regards the origin of bondage than the one just mentioned; it remains a curious fact, however, that the system has been continued and maintained up to the present time, after the conclusion of these wars, when the various tribes were united under one head, and the more so as these bondsmen differ in no way, either mentally or by personal appearance, from the common people.

Chinese and Japanese writings make no mention whatever of bondage, nor do they speak of the castes which divide the people of Corea.

The official religion in Corea—if indeed we may talk of religion there—is the worship of Budha, which was introduced about 372 A.D. into the country from China, and which extended itself by degrees. In point of utter disregard for their own religious ceremonies and customs the Coreans rise hardly above the level of savages; assuredly they do not occupy such a place in this respect that a people, not totally devoid of culture and civilization ought to take, and far below the Chinese and Japanese. It cannot be denied that the latter, however little religiously inclined they may be from our point of view, and however lax they may be found in most cases, in the exercise of religious ceremonies, which can but very rarely be considered to spring from the wants of a sincere mind, harbour at all events some feeling of piety and consideration for the keeping up of their old and long established

religious usages, a feeling of which the Corean is utterly destitute.

The Chinese bonzes are by no means in a high state of culture, nor do they stand in anything like the esteem and respect which their calling ought to command, a fact which easily explains itself, as they abuse their position, without being able to bring any real influence to bear upon the people, solely for the purpose of leading a life as idle, useless, and comfortable as possible at the cost of the former. But however low they may stand in public opinion they are not, by far, so degraded, so completely disregarded and despised as their Corean colleagues. The highest and almost holy caste in India is that of the priesthood, the Brahmins—in Corea, as has been shown, the direct contrary is the case; ranging amongst the lowest of the "despised castes," far below the common crowd of the people, scarcely considered to rank above the bondsmen—such is the place they occupy in the community of their country.

Searching for an explanation how a state of things like that just described could have taken root, a solution, I think, can only be found in replying to the question whether the disrespect and contempt with which the people treat their own religion, and all ceremonies connected with the same, has arisen as a natural consequence of the moral degradation of the priesthood, or whether its cause must be looked for in the utter want of any moral feeling in the

people themselves? I incline strongly and decidedly to the view expressed in the first part of this question, experience having fully proved, as I shall have occasion to show further on, that only a good lead is required to raise the people to a higher state of culture. The state of utter degradation, and the degree of moral reprobation and profligacy into which the Corean priesthood has sunk, can certainly not contribute to imbue the people with esteem and respect for a religion, the servants of which are altogether incapable to set a good example to the same. The dissolute behaviour and bad conduct of the bonzes has indeed, at times, caused so much public annoyance, that the Government has occasionally been forced to interfere. All endeavours to induce them to lead a more decent life, and to improve their moral standing have, however, been in vain, and we cannot consequently be surprised to see them occupy, to the present day, the lowest social rank. This state of ignominious degradation of the whole caste of priests does not appear to be of new date, but to have reigned for many centuries past. In a short note of Père Régis,[1] he observes that the bonzes were generally despised in the country, and were on that account compelled to erect their joss-houses and dwellings outside of the towns and on the outskirts of smaller places and villages.

The high priests reside in the capital, and it is,

[1] Du Halde, vol. iv.

or at all events it ought to be, their duty and province to keep their subordinates in order. But as they are by no means any better at bottom than these, and are setting an example quite as bad, it can certainly not be expected they should be able to exercise any corrective influence upon the moral standing of the lower priesthood. At times, indeed, and when it suits the Government, their services are required as augurs, and since the usurpation of power by the present regent (1868) some of the high priests are even said to possess, according to popular report, considerable influence over the same.

The dress of the Corean priests and bonzes is similar to that of their Chinese colleagues; they are for the greater part clothed in long white robes; their heads are completely shaved and show no vestige of hair. Their external appearance corresponds fully with their character, for they go about, almost without exception, in a slovenly and uncouth attire.

It follows almost as a matter of course that, under circumstances like those just described, we cannot expect to meet in Corea with temples and joss-houses resembling in any way, or approaching even, the splendour and magnificent decoration which distinguish many of these houses of worship in China and Japan. While every village in these countries, however small and insignificant it may be, possesses its place of worship more or less large, or at least a shrine, before which prayers can be said,

and every house, however poor and miserable, contains a place somewhere for the domestic penates, we find nothing of the kind here. Considerable and densely populated places even own, at the best, a miserable shrine, the dilapidated condition of which clearly demonstrates the neglect and disregard in which it is held. In several large villages, with some hundreds of inhabitants, I had often

VILLAGE IDOLS.

observed near the roadway a number of shapeless trunks of trees of an arm's thickness, and of various sizes, without however paying any attention to them for some time. I was not a little surprised, when on closer inspection these misshapen sticks turned out to represent the idols or josses of these villages, standing there in place of a temple or joss-house, and which, without regard to their preservation, had been stuck in the open road without any ceremony whatever, under the presumption, not perhaps quite unreasonable, that a

joss ought to be able to take care of himself in all kinds of weather. All the decoration of these wood pieces, varying in height from two to four feet, consisted in the outer bark being stripped, and abominable features having been cut into the upper end in the most primitive manner; there they stood, more or less firmly fixed in the ground, in all sorts of positions, straight and crooked, while some, weakened by old age, had tumbled down in toto, lying with their tired-out heads on the ground, as if they had made up their minds to remain and rest there after the troubles of an existence which had exposed them to a more than ordinary share of stormy weather. I confess that the impression these idols made on me was more of a painful than of a comical nature, while the natives themselves considered it capital fun to kick those unfortunate fallen josses about, which was done amidst the shouts of laughter of the people standing by.

Notwithstanding all however I have been compelled to state above, it would be altogether erroneous to believe that the Corean is incapable of improvement in a mental point of view. I have already given it as my opinion, that the low moral standing of the people is principally owing to, and a consequence of, the sad state of degradation of the priesthood, and I am prepared to go even further than this. I venture to maintain, that none among the races of the Asiatic Continent can more easily be rendered accessible to a true and sincere religious

feeling than the Corean, and that the latter, once converted to Christianity, shows a far deeper comprehension, and adheres to its teachings with greater fidelity and firmness, than for instance the Chinese. Sly and calculating, the last consider conversion almost always in the light of a business transaction, accepting the same as a means of gaining personal advantages, and it is a fact well known to all versed in matters Chinese, that those cases are by no means of rare occurrence, in which converts, whose piety and sincerity were very proudly looked upon, and who were represented as shining lights in missionary reports, have returned without great compunction to their old faith or rather disbelief, as soon as the spring dried up from which they had drawn advantage, and on account of which they had felt induced to be converted.

A motive of this kind cannot be brought into account with the Coreans. Childlike and simple in manner and temperament, they only require some inducement to stir them from the sluggishness which prevails with the mass of the people in matters of their own religion. With but few and modest wants in life, they have nothing to expect from their conversion to Christianity with regard to an improvement of their material welfare—they are on the contrary exposed, under present political circumstances, to a continuous and bitter prosecution on the part of the authorities, and to the most shocking tortures and painful deaths as soon as they are

merely suspected of conversion. In 1839 a French bishop and two priests were put to death. During the reign of the late king, the last of the Ni dynasty, who died in the beginning of 1864, and who was generally beloved on account of his clemency, the sternness and severity towards the missionaries and converts had somewhat relented, whose efforts, without being favoured in any way, were, at all events not counteracted. It is even reported that at that time their influence extended itself to within the precincts of the royal court itself.[1]

According to statements, the correctness of which there is no reason to doubt, the number of converts at that time had reached nearly 100,000, the majority of whom resided in the so-called court province, Kien-kei. To the south of Prince Jérome Gulf, in the district of Hei-mi, the inhabitants of whole villages professed secretly the Christian faith. After the demise of the king however, the old spirit of clemency was abandoned, and gave place to a harshness only the more severe; and after the unfortunate result of the French expedition under Admiral Roze, which had been entered upon in consequence of the putting to death of nine catholic missionaries in 1866, the persecution of the Corean Christians was carried on with a fury still more cruel and relentless.

[1] I have been informed by a trustworthy and reliable native source, that the queen, the wife of the late king, had secretly been converted, together with the nurse of the present king, then a minor, and several other persons and officers of his surroundings.

In another place I have already related how native converts, with a degree of self-sacrifice rarely met with, risked their own life for the sake of saving the lives of those missionaries who had escaped from the massacre, and who were relentlessly hunted down and pursued by the Government. Instances of similar cases of fidelity and adhesion to their newly acquired faith have come to my knowledge during my stay in the country, which prove sufficiently that it depends solely upon the means which are brought to bear upon the people, to deliver it from the state of general apathy into which it has sunk; and also that this apathy does not take root in the character of the population. The Government itself is to blame for the greatest share in purposely maintaining this state of things; and by setting an example in the disregard and neglect of the priesthood, it has successfully crushed any influence which the latter might exercise under other circumstances over the people. Fearful of seeing its despotic sway endangered by the introduction of a higher state of civilization, it resists, by all means in its power, any attempt tending in that direction, though it is to be hoped that all its efforts to this effect will not prevail in the long-run, or prevent the downfall of a system both tyrannical and cruel.[1]

[1] At the commencement of the year 1868, 10,000 to 12,000 native Christians had already been sacrificed to the bloodthirsty propensities of the regent. During the course of my last voyage Coreans furnished me with lists containing the names of places

Before putting down my own observations on the manners and customs of the present Coreans, it is, perhaps, not out of place here, and not without interest, to render a *résumé* of short notes, left by Père Régis, already alluded to on this subject. It may however be necessary to remark beforehand that P. Régis,[1] who lived in China as Roman Catholic missionary in the 17th century, had never been in Corea himself, but only penetrated to the northern frontiers of the country, and that he had to trust to Chinese sources for all the information he collected, although these had not much better means to obtain the same than he had himself.

Suitable in some points, they cannot on the whole be considered applicable to the Coreans of our times. His version may follow here in his own words :—

"We have still to give an account of the Coreans themselves. They are ordinarily well built, mild, and amiable. They love the sciences, and understand the Chinese language. Of music and dancing they are very fond. The people of the northern provinces are taller than those in the south. The northerners incline much to arms, and become good soldiers. Generally they wear fur caps and silk dresses. The women, however, have gold and silver lace on their camisoles. The gentry is distinguished by wearing violet-coloured silks. The learned people can be

where these massacres took place, and the number of persons killed in each, making the total as just stated.

[1] Du Halde, vol. iv., ch. 171 and 172.

recognized by two feathers affixed to their caps. After the publishing of the law-books by Kitsé, which only comprised eight laws, the Coreans became well mannered to such a degree, that theft and adultery were vices quite unknown amongst them, and it became unnecessary to shut the house-doors at night. And although fearful changes, which are fatal to all states, have robbed them of much of their former innocence, they can still serve as a pattern to other nations. At public meetings they are dressed in brocades, and are adorned with all sorts of gold and silver jewels. Many girls of loose habits are found amongst them. The boys and girls marry according to mutual liking, without making presents to each other and without observing any ceremonies. They bury their dead only three years after their decease. They mourn three years for fathers and mothers, but only three months for brothers and sisters. When they have buried their dead, they place carriages and horses, and everything that the deceased have been fond of during life, near the grave, and all this is afterwards given over to all who have assisted at the burial. They are very superstitious by nature, and have an abhorrence to kill any living thing. They are very moderate in eating and drinking; at their meals they use plates and dishes. They adhere to the religion of Fo. Their mandarins affect great seriousness; their houses are covered with straw, and they do not sleep upon beds. Their wine is made from millet. They do not attend much to

the cultivation of silkworms, and are satisfied with using hempen linen. They do not take medicines. The payment of the mandarins consists in rice. The lands are divided amongst all, according to the size of the families. The king does not possess any acres of his own. The learned men study music very diligently. The arms of their soldiers are plain, and without any ornaments; they wear bows and long swords. Atrocious crimes are punished in a very mild way; but if any one offends his father or mother, he is punished with death, and decapitated. The smallest crimes are punished with the knout. Those crimes which generally ought to merit death, have to expect exile to a neighbouring island."

Thus far Régis. As Roman Catholic missionary reports mostly excel in the explicitness and exactness with which they enlarge even on the most insignificant and trivial subjects, it may be presumed from the concise shortness which characterizes these notes, that the sources from which they were collected were not able to furnish more extensive or more exact information on Corean customs.

The dress of the Coreans is very plain; that of the men consisting of a short jacket, extending a little below the hips, and of wide trousers, worn mostly loose round the legs, or tied together above the ancle over the stockings. Seldom, and only with the better classes, long and flowing robes are in use, similar to those worn in China, tied round the

waist with a silken or cotton string. To this string, which by common people is worn beneath the jacket, are attached tobacco-pouches, pipes, fans, and similar necessaries. The colour of the dress, both of men and women, is, almost without exception, white; that of the jacket, very rarely, sky-blue. Children are more often met with clothed in coloured stuffs, mostly light-blue or rose-coloured, seldom in gaudy or dark hues. The material of the clothing of the people and of the citizens consists of more or less finely spun bleached cottons of native manufacture; a kind of coarse drill is generally used, although a material of a better and finer description is also made. Chinese and European cotton goods are not unknown, and are very much esteemed, but the quantity of these which can be smuggled into the country, or which are imported from the yearly fair on the northern frontier, is so trifling, that it is of no account whatever.[1]

Woollens are not manufactured in Corea, and are nearly unknown there. Jackets and robes are worn with very wide sleeves, the gentry wearing them two feet wide at the wrist; pockets are not in use. The country and agricultural population seldom use socks, and generally only a kind of thick, straw-plaited sandals, which are attached to the

[1] The price of a piece of grey shirting of 40 yards had risen to 16 taels, or about 4*l.* 16*s.*, in 1866—the ordinary price is about 8 taels.

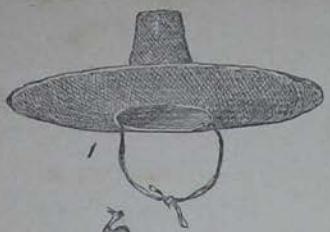
foot and between the toes with hempen strings; these sandals are very comfortable and easy in walking. The latter also are frequently used in towns, together with white cotton shoes of common make. Persons of higher standing wear shoes of Chinese cut, and on solemn occasions cloth boots like those used in China. Silks are only worn by the noble classes and the high functionaries; generally several wide jackets of different hue one over the other, as violet, dark yellow, blue, and brown. These silks are manufactured in China expressly for the Corean market, with patterns of a special kind; the consumption is however a very limited one only, and hardly exceeds a few hundred pieces a year, which are sold in barter at the northern fair. The dress in winter does not much differ from that used in summer-time, being likewise white, only of stouter and coarser material, the jackets quilted and lined with sheepskin. Two or three suits are generally put on during the cold season at a time, and are left off one by one when it begins to get warmer. In the northern provinces, where wild beasts are frequent, furs are much used; fine descriptions of furs, such as sable, &c., are manufactured into head-gear, such as high, conical caps, to which pieces for the protection of the throat and neck are attached.

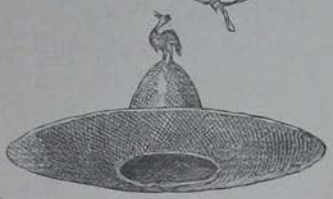
The effect of the white dresses from a distance is a very pleasing one; but as the Coreans do not excel in cleanliness, the original white hue degene-

rates by degrees into a dirty grey, which renders the same much less nice and inviting on closer inspection.

The soldiers and police officers wear dark blue, the cut of their clothing being similar to that in general use. The jackets of the former are bound with broad black cotton ribbon, with a piece of round white cloth on the breast and back, showing the number and character of their corps. Instead of the commonly worn hat, they have black felt hats, with a broad rim and pointed top, ornamented with a fox-tail.

The head-dress of the people deserves special mention, as the hats, with high and low people, are beautifully made of fine split bamboo, the manufacture of which being the principal branch of industry of the island of Quelpart. These hats, nearly always black-lacquered, and seldom of yellow colour, scarcely cover the crown of the head, and can only be kept on the latter by means of a separate, tight-fitting cap of the same material, into which it is fixed, and attached by strings round the earlaps. The brim is quite round, and more than six inches wide, the top as high, and flat; those of very high officials being rounded, and provided with a silver decoration, such as a crane, &c., of very fine and durable workmanship. These hats offer sufficient protection against sun and rain, and the plaiting is so strong that it may almost be taken for iron wire. In the country another kind





(1) STRAW-PLAIT HAT—(2) STRAW-PLAIT CAP—(3) HAT OF A HIGH OFFICIAL—(4) SOLDIER'S FELT HAT—(5) STRAW HAT (summer wear)—(6) OIL-PAPER HAT—(7) STRAW-PLAIT CAP—(8) STRAW SHOES.

of very large, pot-formed head-covers, made of coarse straw, is sometimes used, not much unlike in shape to the grotesque helmets worn by Europeans in India and China.

The female dress, equally white, is of the same simple description as that of the men. It consists of a pair of loose trousers and of a short jacket, over which a long wide robe is worn, attached round the waist. The high class also wears many coloured silks; as a rule, however, only white cotton goods are used: of the gold or silver lace, with which, according to Régis' account, the Corean ladies are fond of adorning their persons, little or nothing is seen now-a-days, although they may not be denied to possess their share of love for adornment, to which, as Eve's daughters, they are entitled.

The hair-dress of the men is not unlike that of the Japanese, but while the latter shave their heads all round the hair knot, the Coreans allow their hair to grow round the same. They have consequently rather a wildish look, nor are their topknots so well and neatly cared for as those of their neighbours. It is peculiar, that only married men are allowed to have their hair dressed in this style; the unmarried ones and boys wear it parted in the middle with a stout tail running down to the waist. This gives so womanish a look to grown up people, that at first sight one may be in doubt, whether they are men or women, and it is the easier to mistake them for the

latter, as they wear their hair quite similarly. Fine ladies curl their neck tresses sometimes and attach them with long pins. It is also observable that the colour of the hair of the Coreans is not throughout black as with the Chinese and Japanese; brown, chestnut, and even flaxen hair is often found here, hardly ever with the former. Nearly all married men have beards and whiskers, more rarely moustachios, and all their vanity seems to centre in the care of these. Contrary to their beardless Chinese neighbours, where only old men are found bearded, the young Coreans walk about with magnificent long beards which might well cause the envy of European dandies, and which contribute not a little to lend a characteristic impression to their features.

Proceeding now from the description of their outward appearance to that of the general character of the people, the latter distinguishes itself to advantage from that of their neighbours, as well by the openness as by the frankness of their demeanour. The Corean, even of lower estate, is grave and sedate by nature, which does not exclude a spirit of frank gaiety shown on nearer acquaintance. They are thoroughly honest, faithful, and goodnatured, and attach themselves with almost childlike confidence even to strangers and foreigners, when once they begin to trust in their sincerity. I myself have only words of praise for the friendly and amicable reception I have met with nearly everywhere. That the manner of the high officials and functionaries whom

I had occasion to encounter, notwithstanding its pointed courtesy and superficial friendliness, left something to be desired with regard to a like frankness, easily explains itself by the delicacy of their official position, while all classes of the people, as soon as the first impression of our uncommon and foreign appearance had worn off, showed themselves confiding and obliging.

Firm, sure, and quick in his walk, the Corean possesses greater ease and a freer motion than the Japanese, to whom, as to the Chinese, they are superior in tallness and bodily strength. Their bearing denotes also greater fortitude and energy, and a more developed warlike spirit. On the other hand it cannot be denied, that with all their bodily and mental advantages, they rank considerably below these in cultivation and good manners, and without *savoir-vivre*, they are wanting in that little polish which is not even missed amidst the low class population of China and Japan. This want of good manners is quite as observable with the higher classes and officials, notwithstanding the show of severe dignity and grandeur in their appearance; who, as soon as they set aside their official character, appear what they are—the wild barbarians without any disguise. Those only amongst them who have lived for a time at Pekin in the suite of an embassy,[1]

[1] I have only had the opportunity to come into contact with two high officials of this class near the capital, one of whom was a very old man, whose demeanour denoted at once that they had

and who have been enabled to take a lesson there in fine breeding from the high Chinese functionaries, may be said to make an exception to the common rule. A Chinese Mandarin, I am sure, would rather have lost his head than have exposed himself in all his nakedness, as did my venerable friend, Kam-tawha, the district Mandarin of Heimi,[1] when he wanted, on the occasion of an official visit on board the steamer "Emperor," to convince us by ocular demonstration, of the bad state of his hemorrhoidal sufferings, which he did without evincing the least *gène* in the world on the matter.

Notwithstanding this utter want of good breeding however, the good qualities of character and mind predominate to such an extent, that to my judgment a comparison between Coreans and Chinese would only turn out in favour of the former.

Polygamy is prevailing in Corea and the lot of the women there differs little from that of their Chinese sisters. The number of wives varies according to the standing and affluence, but as the middle and lower classes are not generally well off, it is rare in their case to have more than one wife at a time. Nuptial ceremonies on the celebration of weddings are unknown. As soon as a certain sum, either to be paid or to be received, has been agreed upon

acquired their better breeding during their stay in the Chinese capital.

[1] Of about the rank of a Chinese Taoutae. Second Voyage to Corea.

between the husband in *spe* and the father or the near relations of the girl, the former takes his bride elect to his house and can treat her as he likes, as forming part of his other goods and chattels.

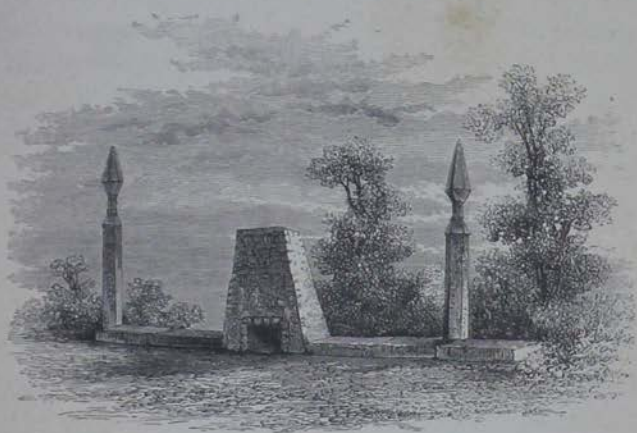
The women have to remain in the apartments set specially apart for their use, and those of the higher classes are even more isolated here than in China; a little more liberty is allowed them in the country, where a portion of the labour in the fields falls to their share, but although they can move about there somewhat more at their ease, they are still much more restricted than the female country population in China. In cities and small townships, it is, however, considered a great offence against modesty and custom, whenever a woman is met in the public streets in the daytime, and they quit their apartments hardly ever during the day. To indemnify them for this strictly kept up seclusion, the following remarkable arrangement has been made. At nine o'clock in the evening during summer, and at an earlier hour in winter time, the city gates of Saoul and other towns are closed at a given signal. As soon as this has taken place all men are bound to leave the streets, and these are abandoned to the women for the purposes of recreation and promenading. Any male finding himself by accident belated and behind the appointed time in the streets, is sure to hurry to his house as fast as possible without looking up or regarding about him, and severe punishment would fall upon any person daring, in

the face of the stringent prohibition, to molest women in the least. Good breeding demands from any man (and this is always done) to cover his face with a fan, as soon as he encounters ladies walking during these hours, so that he may not be recognized, and to walk over to the other side of the street so as not to disturb or terrify them.

To judge from the cut of features of the male population, it may be presumed that the outward appearance of the women in general is prepossessing; and the little I have had an opportunity to see of them, confirms this view fully. It was only by accident that I could get a look at some of them during my peregrinations in the country, and merely when there had not been sufficient time to allow them to withdraw from the profane look of the strangers on entering the houses. This happened, amongst other cases, once on a visit to a wealthy farmer, who had invited us with great cordiality into his premises, and whose young and very good-looking daughters we surprised before they could retire to their customary seclusion. It would have been very ill-bred to utter a wish for their reappearance, and I had to be satisfied with the little I had had the good luck to see of them on entering the house.

The judgment of P. Régis regarding the prevailing immorality appears to me to be too severe. That the so-called social evil exists here, as everywhere in the world, can hardly be a matter of sur-

prise; but it must not be overlooked that laxity of morals is not in the eyes of Asiatics so heinous an offence as in ours. At all events matters, in this respect are not nearly so bad here as in Japan, where prostitution may almost be regarded in the light of a state institution, and stands under the protection and direction of Government itself. The Coreans may not be much better than their neighbours, they are certainly by no means worse, and it would not be fair or within reason to expect them to make an exception from other nations of the world.



A NOBLEMAN'S TOMB.

Funerals are conducted with as little ceremony and solemnity as the weddings. The body is put into a very plain wooden coffin, or, as is as often the case, buried without such, and only covered and

wrapped up in linen sheets; nor is any difference made herein with high and low. No ornaments of whatever kind are buried with the dead or put into the graves, and it is as absurd as false to believe that these ever contain treasure or valuables of any description. The slopes of mountains and hills are chosen in preference as the last resting-place of the dead. At times the bones are collected and buried afresh. The burning of the same is but very rarely practised, and then only by the higher classes.

As a general rule no mourning is put on for dead relations; but whenever this is done, and only for parents, it is carried through in a very rigorous manner. The mourner puts on a dress specially adapted to the occasion, covers his head and the whole face with a pointed hat, and passes during the mourning season himself, as it were, for dead, avoiding all contact with the outer world, nor is it permitted to address or to molest him in any way during the whole time of mourning.

The knowledge and treatment of diseases remains still, as may well be presumed, in its infancy in Corea, and is chiefly confined to the use of some known herbs; and whenever these do not take any effect, the disease is generally left to have its own way, perhaps the most reasonable and fortunate course pursued for the patient. The Corean doctors are, if possible, even more ignorant than their colleagues in China, and they do not enjoy much respect and consideration. The cupping, so fre-

quently practised in China, appears to be little known in Corea. The principal diseases during the hot season are dysentery and cholera, which are often epidemical; their origin is, however, more attributable to the common habit of sleeping in the open air and on the cold wet ground, and to the immoderate consumption of unripe fruit, than to the climate, which is a thoroughly healthy one. Small-pox epidemics seem also to be of frequent occurrence, to judge at least from the great number of people marked with the same. The many very aged but hale persons met with more frequently here than in China and Japan, may serve as corroborative evidence for the wholesomeness of the climate, while people afflicted with nauseous diseases, as in those countries, are rarely ever seen. Leprosy, elephantiasis, phthiriasis, etc., may be numbered amongst exceptional cases of complaints.

In very many instances the occasion presented itself during my voyages, to alleviate sufferings by dispensing such medicaments as were at our disposal; and while these were very thankfully received, we had not only the gratification to find that they had their desired effect in most cases, but also that they served as a welcome means to gain us the favour and goodwill of the people.

The dwelling-houses and larger buildings in the towns, are, nearly without exception, one-storied, constructed of mud, and covered with the same material, or thatched with straw. In larger cities

indeed there are a good many buildings of wood and brick, roofed with tiles; in smaller townships, villages, etc. however, only the houses of the local mandarin are constructed of these materials, and distinguished by a low wall of badly-hewn stone.

AN OFFICIAL'S RESIDENCE.

Private buildings in the country are but rarely covered with tiles, and in the latter case they testify to the affluence of their owners. The interior arrangements of the houses, in the central and southern provinces, is somewhat similar to that met with in Japan, without the nicety and cleanliness however, existing there everywhere. The ground is scarcely ever floored; where this is done, in the better kind of houses, the flooring is raised about a foot above

the ground. These are also fitted with sliding doors and with windows, in the Japanese style, a

ROOM IN AN OFFICIAL'S HOUSE.

fashion no doubt dating from the times of the Japanese conquest and occupation. Sometimes the houses are surrounded by verandahs, and built with projecting roofs. On the whole, the Corean dwelling-houses make a very poor impression compared with those of the neighbouring countries, and the Coreans have a great deal to learn before they reach the style of architecture common in China and Japan.[1]

[1] The surprise and admiration expressed by the fugitive Coreans, who had followed the Roman Catholic missionaries to Shanghae, at the sight of the large Chinese buildings there, was as great as it was amusing, and they were so much impressed with the grandeur and beauty of the foreign residences, that they declared the finest palaces of their king to be miserable hovels compared with the latter.

The palaces of the king in the capital and at other places, the various public buildings, and the residences of the aristocracy and of the nobles, built of brick and wood, do not by any means create an impression of grandeur or splendour. Some of these buildings, entirely of wood and with curved roofs, and with projecting decorations and ornaments, in imitation of Chinese taste, have the prettiest look of all. These wooden houses are very nicely and exactly fitted together. The style and workmanship of the Corean architects and builders would, no doubt, soon improve, if they had the advantage of being provided with better models than they have had hitherto.

COREAN DWELLING-HOUSE.

The houses in the country contain rarely more than two or three rooms without doors, and with windows of oil-paper, glass being as yet completely unknown in Corea. There is little more to be said

of them than that their interior is in most cases rather dirty and uninviting.

The interior fitting-up of Corean houses stands on a par with their outward appearance, the household of the common people seldom comprising any other utensils than those absolutely required for eating and drinking purposes. Chairs, tables, and other pieces of furniture, are only met with in the houses of the higher classes, where they serve more in the way of decoration than otherwise. The floor is covered with straw mats, but of not nearly the same beautiful description as those in Japan. The Corean, like the Japanese, always sits on the ground cross-legged, and has no need of chairs or the like; and in this way he remains for hours in a state of *dolce far niente*, to which habit he is a good deal more addicted than his insular neighbours. Tables are equally unknown; a low kind of framework is used in their place at meals. Bedsteads like ours are not in use; they sleep on a common mattress, or without such, on the bare ground. A wooden frame for the mattress is counted amongst articles of luxury. The bed-covers are quilted with raw cotton.

Altogether, the interior fitting-up of the Corean houses denotes the utter absence of good taste, and a want for embellishment or decoration, nor do the so-called palaces of the great make any exception hereto; even the latter cannot in any way compare with the houses of the better situated

classes in China and Japan, in regard to ornamental or comfortable arrangement.

The Coreans are very plain and temperate in their style of living; they are moderate in eating, although they are by no means disdainful of good things, when they have an opportunity to enjoy them. The main article of nourishment is rice, boiled in the same way as it is all over the east, with additional dishes of vegetables, fish, fowls, and pork; beef is rarely consumed, not from religious motives, as in Japan, but on account of its scarcity. Sheep are altogether unknown in Corea, and there are but few goats kept. The viands are prepared in much the same way as in China, though not perhaps so well cooked. Buckwheat, millet, maize, and the like, form a good part of the nourishment; the latter is crushed, and made into a kind of dry bread. Of public cook-shops, vendors of cake or sweetmeats, such as are met with in the poorest Chinese village, I have seen nothing here. The china and earthenware used at meals is very common. Régis' account that plates are used is incorrect. They do not, however, eat with chopsticks, but with wooden or earthenware spoons with very long shafts, and with two-pronged forks and knives, which they handle very well; and their way of eating is decidedly preferable to, and not so disgusting to look at, as the Chinese custom, of putting the rice-bowl close to the mouth, and shoving its contents into the same with a rapidity really astonishing.

The Corean wine is generally made from millet, and resembles, in its smoky and disagreeable taste, the Chinese saki very much. Like the Japanese, they are extremely fond of strong drinks, and much less moderate in drinking than in eating; they may even be called very immoderate, whenever they have an opportunity to satisfy their craving for liquors, as I often had occasion to observe. To foreign wines and spirits they are passionately addicted; champagne and cherry-brandy they prefer to any other liquors, but they disdain by no means sherry, brandy, and other strong wines and spirits; claret alone they don't much relish on account of its acerbity. If we could or would have given to all those who came to visit us what they desired, we should have had hundreds of tipsy natives about us every day. Some of them were able to consume astonishing quantities, although they had never before tasted any foreign liquors. As an instance, I remember that an official and his three secretaries finished four bottles of champagne and as many of cherry-brandy within half-an-hour, in consequence of which they became so elated and loquacious, that they spoke in terms so strong of their Government and of the atrocities committed by the regent, as they would hardly have dared to use if they had been quite sober. The Coreans drink very little tea, nor do they seem much to care for it, though the better classes use it at times. It is owing to this that the cultivation of the tea shrub is

so very much neglected in the country, but it grows wild in many parts, and could easily be made to give a very fair crop, both as to quality and quantity, on account of climate and ground favouring its growth.

Splendid springs of the purest water are everywhere found, and the Coreans do not perhaps feel the want of tea so much as they are great water drinkers.

In passionate fondness for music the Coreans decidedly surpass any other Asiatic nation. Their knowledge of the same is indeed a very primitive one, not superior to that of their neighbours, and their instruments are of rude workmanship and construction; the principal amongst them here also is the gong, with its deafening noise over-dinning the squeaking tunes of the flutes and the two-stringed guitars, combining together in making a music anything but harmonious. They always sing in falsetto, like the Chinese, in a monotonous and melancholy manner, rarely crying or high sounding. The Coreans, however, decidedly possess a musical ear, and they know how to appreciate, and like to listen to foreign music very much, while the Chinese have not the slightest idea of harmony, and, placing our music far below their own, look down upon our art with something like a feeling of pity. The performance of the musical boxes we carried with us was greatly enjoyed by people of all ages; and nothing delighted them more than performances on the

violin, which always were received with immense applause, nor were they satisfied to listen until the performer was obliged to stop from exhaustion. A high military mandarin felt so much pleased once at the tunes of an ordinary hand accordion, that, setting aside all his gravity and dignity, he could not resist the temptation to get up, and greatly to our amusement and surprise, accompanied the music, dancing and singing all the time it was played.

On festive occasions, mandarin processions and the like, they use a kind of metal trumpet or horn, which sounds a long way off, resembling much in tone the Swiss cow-horn.

Great pleasure is taken in dancing, which is performed in a style altogether different to ours. Men and women of course never dance together, as it would be contrary to custom; generally one person dances at a time, while the others look on. The dance is confined to a slow movement of the feet, with slight backward and forward motion of the body, the dancer always accompanying himself with a song; the more or less great proficiency of the performer is judged by the way in which he is able to give expression to his various motions.

Public entertainments, such as theatrical and other performances, which are so much appreciated in China and Japan, appear to be completely unknown in Corea. This may be partly ascribed to the lack of a literature of their own; partly also to

the low grade of culture of the people, which does not feel the want of entertainments of this kind. Nor have I met with, or even heard of the existence of jugglers, &c.; and if there are any in the country to be found, which I doubt, they will hardly come up to their comrades in the neighbouring countries in proficiency and dexterity. In those parts, where there are no rivers or canals to serve as means of transport and communication, journeys are undertaken on horseback as the easiest, surest, and most comfortable way of travelling, on account of the narrowness of the roads, and the predominant mountainous character of the country. Portechaises are also used, but only by the upper class and by high functionaries; they are somewhat like those seen in Japan and rather uncomfortable, as the person occupying the same must lie down, and has no room to sit up. A kind of mountain chair, very light and handy, in the style of those used by foreigners in India and China, is equally to be found in country places; people of the middle and lower classes are however rarely seen to employ them.

The Coreans as a rule, as has been remarked already, are honest and good-natured, and great crimes, murder, theft, etc., are not frequently committed; theft in particular is punished very severely. One of the native boatmen, a servant of an official on a visit on board our steamer, was detected and surprised by his own countrymen in the act of steal-

ing some article from a cabin window on deck,[1] at which they got so enraged that it took a good deal of trouble to save the thief from being lynched on the spot, nor could the Coreans present be pacified until the criminal had been handed over to his master for punishment. In a country in which, even in the cities, the houses are always kept open, and the doors without locks, theft is more likely to meet with condign punishment, as a thief is considered to commit a greater breach of trust there than in a country where people are not in the habit of putting so great a confidence in the honesty of their neighbours. In old times capital punishment was rarely put into execution; political and common criminals were banished to Quelpart and some other distant islands. Now-a-days people are no longer proscribed to these places, and the punishment of decapitation has become much more frequent, particularly since the death of the last king and for political causes. Petty crimes are punished with imprisonment and bodily chastisement, the latter not being applied on the foot-soles, as in China, but *ad posteriora*. For this purpose flat pieces of wood four or five feet long, and formed like a small oar, are used. Police officers carry these instruments in their sashes like a sword.

The only circulating medium in Corea is copper coin, similar to copper cash, with a square hole in

[1] Second Voyage to Corea.

the middle. The Corean cash is larger and thicker than the Chinese, and better both in coinage and metal. All business transactions are concluded in this coin, 1100 of which go to a Mexican dollar (about four shillings sterling). For the past few years however false copper money has been coined and circulated by the Taiouengoon or regent, either from actual want of money, or, as is generally reported and believed in the country, for the purpose of enriching himself; and as many people objected to taking this spurious coin, the difficulty was overcome by decapitating all those who refused, and the compulsory circulation of this money was established.

The irritation and indignation of the people against this compulsory measure, and the cruelties which had been committed in consequence, continued to be very great during my last stay in the country; and people in official positions even complained bitterly against it as an instance of the despotic bearing of the regent, whose sway had become more insupportable every day.

Although there is enough of gold and silver in the country, it does not commonly circulate in public. Large transactions are sometimes, but rarely, settled in silver. Gold is mostly melted in long thin bars, ten taels in weight; gold dust is rarely seen in circulation. The silver is made into irregular ingots, and goes by weight. Corean silver is very fine, while the gold is only half as fine as China gold, a ten taels' weight bar of the former

being worth only about 25*l.*, against 50*l.*, the value of a Pekin or Canton gold bar.[1]

Government treasuries are erected in various parts and towns of the country, in which the supplies of gold and silver are kept; the digging of both these metals is strictly prohibited, and even punished with death; but as nothing is done by the Government to promote the exploration of the rich mines, no benefit is derived from them. Private people who happen to possess any precious metals hide and bury the same, to keep them from the rapacious claws of the public officials. Notwithstanding all prohibitory measures, Corean gold finds its way to foreign parts, principally in dust, which is often found in the beds and on the banks of several rivers, and is secretly bartered by the natives against foreign produce at the yearly fair in the north.

In general, the same weights and measurements as used in China have been adopted in Corea, although in some parts of the country the calculation deviates somewhat from the Chinese. I have taken a good deal of trouble in making inquiries after weights, etc., specially Corean; but regret to say that I have not succeeded in obtaining any reliable or authentic information, and I consequently abstain from rendering the confused and contradictory accounts received on this subject.

The calculation of time and division of years and

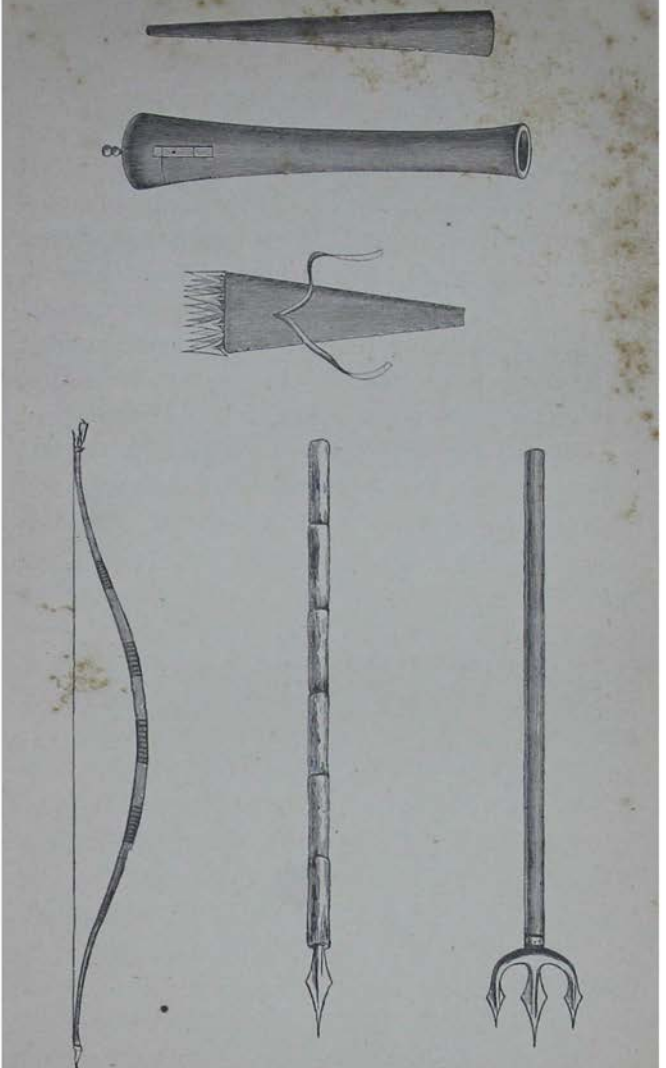
[1] Corean gold is barely 50 touch, Chinese 98 touch fine.

months is based upon the Chinese calendar, which was first introduced in Corea during the period of the undisputed suzerainty of China, and which has since been kept on. The acceptance of this calendar was considered on the part of China as an act of formal acknowledgement of vassalage by the kings of Corea, and it was sent annually to this country by the Corean embassy which had delivered the tribute in Pekin. At present however the years are counted by the reign of the king, and not by that of the Emperor of China. Upon all official despatches, etc., addressed to me, the calculation of the months and dates agreed exactly with the Chinese.

In another place,[1] mention has been already made of the rank and various titles of the commanders of the army and navy. Their number and high-sounding titles may cause the belief that a military force of great strength and proficiency really exists; but this is by no means the case. It is true that a standing army has always been maintained, even in times of peace, amounting to a few thousand men, which formed the garrisons of the capital and of the larger walled cities. But during the long period of peace and tranquillity enjoyed by the country, the number of really effective soldiers had dwindled down very considerably, and the army existed more on paper than in reality. Convinced of its own in-

[1] See Chapter ii., Constitution and Government administration.

vincibility and of the impossibility of an outer attack, the Corean Government considered it out of the question that any foreign enemy should ever venture upon an invasion. The unfortunate result of the French expedition has fully confirmed its belief respecting the first point; but in consequence of this attempt it has been deemed advisable to fortify some of the towns on the coast, and to garrison them with a few hundred men each. The recruiting and drilling of these men was considerably facilitated by the circumstance that they could be levied from the so-called tiger-hunters in the northern and central provinces, several thousands of whom gain their livelihood by hunting wild beasts. Completely unprepared and powerless, the Government had already been obliged to employ about a thousand of these huntsmen against the French attack, as there was no other military force to oppose the same at the time. Indeed, since the unfortunate expedition of Admiral Roze, the faith of the Coreans in their invincibility on land has risen to a pitch as ludicrous as it is amusing; and ignorant of the power of western arms, they fully believe themselves able to cope with the whole world. To be just, however, I must add that they do not feel quite so strongly, and have a more modest view, as to their prowess at sea; and they even go so far as to admit that their navy may not be able to do much harm to foreign ships. The latter is in fact in a highly miserable state, and consists of a few rotten junks at anchor near the



CUDGEL—BREECH-LOADING GUN—QUIVER—THREE-PRONGED LANCE—LANCE—BOW.

capital, which they pretend to protect. A few well-aimed gun-shots would suffice to knock over and sink the whole fleet of Corea within an hour.

The armament of the Corean soldiers is a very primitive one, and consists of quite antiquated common matchlocks, bows and arrows, and of single and three-pointed lances. The bows are made of very strong, tough wood, with strings of twisted hemp, which throw arrows with a two-inch iron point. The lances with three points look like harpoons, and are of rude make, with wooden or bamboo shafts. Foreign arms are as yet unknown in the country.

The battlements of the numerous forts and batteries which line the banks of the main rivers, are in a complete state of decay, and the guns with which they have formerly been mounted have been deposited in arsenals. When the French landed at Kangwha they found a large number of these guns buried near the town, which, to judge by their appearance, must have lain there for many years past; curiously enough amongst them several breech-loaders were discovered, made upon a simple but very effective principle. They were charged through a long square hole at the upper part of the breech, which was closed by a well-fitting sliding-piece, and then fired by a match. In all probability these guns date from the period of the Japanese occupation, and they certainly were several centuries old.

Common soldiers hardly ever wear swords, only officers and mandarins of a higher rank are armed

with such of Japanese make, but they are all old and rusty, and it is more than likely that these also were brought into the country by the Japanese, and were left behind on their withdrawal.

The colour of flags and standards, one of which is carried by every section of ten or twelve soldiers, is dark blue with black or white characters, stating the name and number of the troop. They are square-shaped, while the flags of the officials are three-cornered, with a red pronged border.

On account probably of the great difficulties of access to the west and east coasts, caused by the many dangerous rocks and shoals, it has been considered unnecessary to fortify the prominent points on the sea-coast. A remarkable signal system has, however, been established from different points of the coast to the capital, to forward the news of approach of any suspicious-looking craft. Signal stations are erected on the highest mountain tops of the furthest outlying islands to the main land, and bonfires are lighted every evening from hill to hill as far as Saoul. When only one fire is lighted, the signal means "peace," or that nothing has come in sight, two fires mean "war," and advise the approach of a ship near the coast. In this manner the Government is regularly informed of everything that happens near the coast, and is made at the same time aware of the direction from which any supposed danger is likely to threaten. These fire-signals burn for several hours every night, and as they are always

on the highest tops of mountains, and are visible a very long way off, they offer a very fine and interesting spectacle. Their meaning was explained to me on landing in the country. This fire-telegraph is said to have existed for centuries past, and most likely is also a remnant of the times of the old Japanese wars and invasions.

CHAPTER V.

LANGUAGE.

Investigations of the Corean Language by Mr. J. Hoffmann—The Lui-ho and Weijü-lui Kiai—Destruction of the valuable works on the language prepared by the missionaries before their assassination—The various dialects—Difficulties of acquiring and speaking the language—Its great irregularity—Composition of words—Substantives—Declensions—Gradation cases—Pronouns—The verbs—The numbers—The alphabet—Written and printed characters—Single and composed syllables.

THE Corean language is a distinct idiom in itself, totally different from the idioms of the Chinese and Japanese, and has remained the least known hitherto of all languages of Eastern Asia. The investigations of learned Europeans had to be confined to the incomplete and deficient information derived from foreign sources, which themselves have only been able to collect a scanty and superficial knowledge on this subject. The best and most valuable material in this respect we owe to Mr. J. Hoffman, who has occupied himself most diligently with the study of the Corean language, as far as he had the means at his command, during the many years

which he served as assistant to Colonel Siebold in Nagasaki, and who has published a very meritorious essay on the same. From the *Lui-hŏ*, a Chinese Corean collection of words, and from a work published in Japan, the *Wei-jü lui kiai*, "The Japanese language Commented and Explained," Mr. Hoffman has composed a dictionary, which is hereunto appended, as the work itself, on account of its rarity, is not likely to be obtainable by the general public.

The Japanese work, written in Corea for the use of the Coreans, to enable the latter to acquire the Japanese language, has been published in Japan without date or preface; and in all probability this is the only work written for this purpose. As it is several centuries old, it may be assumed to date from the time of the Japanese invasions.

The furious persecution of the French missionaries by the Corean Government, which has been followed by the death of the majority of the former, has also caused a severe and as yet irreparable loss to the science of this language. Not content with the punishment of death inflicted upon these men, the authorities demolished their houses and destroyed their personal property; and to this barbarian rage of destruction the grammars and dictionaries of the Corean language were sacrificed, which, together with several other valuable writings, had been prepared and compiled after many years toil and research, and which were just ready for publication. This loss is the more deeply to be regretted, as it must be ad-

mitted, even by those who hold views quite opposite to theirs, that we owe, in many instances, the earliest and most reliable information upon many parts of the globe to the courage and intrepidity of Roman Catholic missionaries, who, while exposing their lives in the exercise of their religious duties, have rendered the most distinguished services as pioneers to science and general knowledge, for which they are pre-eminently qualified by the high standard of their education and learning and their indefatigable power of work. Mr. Féron, last acting pro-vicar of the Corean mission, one of the three escaped missionaries, has since tried to repair in some measure the great loss sustained by the destruction of the papers, by compiling, with praiseworthy diligence, another French-Corean vocabulary and dictionary, which, if it lacks the completeness of the one destroyed, at all events is the only larger one at present existing. The same has, however, to the writer's knowledge, not been published as yet.

Besides the idiom, which may be called the pure Corean, there exist, in different parts of the country several dialects, more or less in use. These are the Chinese-Corean, which has originated by the adaptation of Chinese words into the language, a dialect not however much diffused, and the so-called Japanese-Corean, which prevails in the southern parts of the peninsula, which dates from the period after the Japanese wars, and from the amalgamation of the Japanese settlers after their conclusion with

the natives of the country. This dialect of Corean, with a mixture of corrupt Japanese, has spread all over the south, and is the one most generally spoken in those parts at the present time.

The difficulties in acquiring and properly speaking the Corean language are by no means inferior to those which beset the study of the Chinese; they are even considered by many to be infinitely greater, and they cannot be likened to the comparatively easy manner with which even foreigners are able to acquire a knowledge of Japanese in a proportionately short time. These difficulties are enhanced not only by the great irregularity in the formation of the Corean language, by the highly complicated construction of the declensions and of the verbs, but more perhaps even by the indistinct and drawling manner in which the words are pronounced; the Coreans concluding each period with a peculiar guttural tone, as if to swallow down what had just been uttered, which it is nearly impossible for any one not well initiated in the language to imitate.

The majority of the words are composed of two or more syllables, as "mi-rum," the summer, "kăăr," autumn, "ha-năr," heaven, "ipa-tar," to offer, &c.

All the nouns-substantive are neutre, and are for the most part used only in the singular case, rarely in the plural. If the latter is to be specially accentuated, the plural number is expressed either by the repetition of the word itself, or by the word mata, as

for instance, ăhaī, "the child," ăhaī ăhaī, or ăhaī mata, "the children."

Whenever the declension case is to be particularly expressed, which in the irregularity of the language is not always the case, it is done by a syllabic particle, which is placed after the substantive as follows :—

Nom.	nŭn,	the eye.
Gen.	nŭn na, or kar,	of the eye.
Dat.	nŭn i,	to the eye.
Acc.	nŭn ru,	the eye.
Abl.	nŭn isja,	of, with the eye.

The gradation or comparative cases are expressed by appending particles before the pronoun to be used, and are—

for the Comparative "isja," in comparison to,
for the Superlative "ka tsjang," very,

for instance—

Comp. ji atur ji kjötsip isja aramtaŏr.
this boy is more beautiful than this girl.

Superl. ji skūr katsjang tjo-hăr.
this honey is very fine, *i. e.* the best honey.

The personal pronouns are consonant with the possessive pronouns, and when they are used in the latter sense, they are placed before the substantive, as in—

nai (na) (I) kos, my flower.
nö (thou, your) kirmă, thy saddle.

The third persons, he, she, it, do not exist, and are circumscribed by the word "that." In the active

and passive verbs the times are expressed by the endings; an elongated ending serving as assistant verb to the latter. The perfect ends in *a* or *ta*, the future tense in *o*, while the infinitive is always the same with the present of the indicative.

The negations are also appended to the verbs, and effect a deviation of their own. The following verb may serve as illustration:—

	Infinit.	Tsir, to beat.
Active	Present	Tsir, I beat.
	Perfect	Tsinda, I have beaten.
	Future	Tsiriô, I shall beat.
	Imperat.	(sing.) Tsiro, beat.
		(plur.) Tsidsi kai hara, beat.
Passive	Present	Tsiopuoi, I am beaten.
	Perfect	Tsîrinta, I have been beaten.
	Future	Tsirintos, I shall be beaten.
Negative	Present	Tsidsi anir hawo, I do not beat.
	Future	Tsidsi anir kapo, I shall not beat
Passive	Present	Tsidsi anir hajasŏ, I am not beaten.

The verb just given sufficiently illustrates the great deviations from the original roots in the endings, and the difficulties attending the learning of the language.

The cardinal numbers go from 1 to 10, then follows 100, 1000, 10,000, &c.; their composition takes place in like manner as with the Chinese numbers. As ordinal numbers the same denominations are used by being placed before the substantive.

The difficulties connected with the speaking of

the Corean language do not in the same measure extend to the learning of the printed and written characters, which are much more easily comprehensible. The latter are said to have been first introduced by one of the kings of Sinra about the year 370 A.D., and are known by the name of Omnum.

The alphabet consists of thirteen single vowels and diphthongs, and of fifteen consonants, counting the double letters, which are expressed by separate characters.

The printed characters differ somewhat from the written ones. The former consist for the greater part of straight lines, with the exception of the "hang," which takes a circular form, while the latter, being less stiff, resemble more the Chinese characters in their less constrained composition. The *ô* and *iô* is invariably pronounced like *ö* and *iö*, approaching to *e*, while this vowel *purely* spoken does not exist.

The two letters ㅣ *ji*, and ㅇ *häng*, possess the peculiarity to appear both amongst the consonants. The *häng* is pronounced either as *h* sharp before a vowel, or takes the sound of *ng* at the ending of a word, while the *ji* is pronounced like *i* after another consonant and vowel. The ambiguous character of these two letters is clearly defined in their name, the consonants, such as kiok, niun, piup, showing that they remain unchanged in pronunciation by the same letter appearing both at the beginning and ending of their denomination. ㄹ, which appears in the

alphabet as *lr*, or as mixed sound between the two, is almost invariably pronounced as *r sharp*, not as *l*; contrary to the Chinese, who replace the former letter by the last.

Out of the alphabet of twenty-eight letters the twenty-two composed and 182 single syllables are formed, which again serve as the base for the construction of words.

The little sketch given in this chapter of the Corean language is only intended to mark its character in general outlines. Its study, it is true, does not promise to reward the student with such literary treasures as have been found in the languages of the Japanese and Chinese; nor is it likely that our scanty knowledge of the same will be much increased before the barriers are removed which have rendered all direct intercourse with the people next to impossible. Whenever this, let us hope, not distant time arrives, this deficiency will soon be supplied and remedied by the earnest study of an idiom spoken by so large a portion of the population of the Asiatic Continent.

CHAPTER VI.

PRODUCE, NATURAL HISTORY, COMMERCE, ETC.

Climate and temperature—Plants, trees, woods, and forests—Fruits, cultivation of grain, vegetables, &c.—Tobacco, indigo, ginsing, and other produce—Wild beasts—Unknown species of the latter—Birds of prey and game—Cattle-breeding and domestic animals—Fishes—Pearl-fishing—Mines—Mineral wealth of the country—Gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, quicksilver, &c.—Erroneous view of the sterility of Corea—Commerce and trade, industry—Low standard of the same—Manufacture of cotton-goods, paper, straw-plaiting, &c.—Gold and silversmith work—China, earthenware, &c.

THE system, which to this day separates Corea from the outer world in a political sense, has necessarily had the effect to exercise an influence detrimental and pernicious upon the commercial and economical state of the country. Notwithstanding its paramount mountainous formation, which, especially on the east coast, impedes the expansion of large valleys and plains, and its lack of great streams and rivers, the country is nothing less than barren and neglected by nature. Possessing a climate both temperate and thoroughly healthy and a rich soil, which admits of a profitable cultivation even in mountain regions, it is only owing to the phlegma

and the indifference of its inhabitants, if they have not earned as yet anything like what the rich resources of the country might justly be expected to produce by a reasonable treatment. This is the more a matter of surprise, as the predominant portion of the population consists of agriculturists, who could easily increase their prosperity by a little more exertion and application. To this want of impulse on the part of the people it may be ascribed, that the best and richest resources of the country remain barren and fruitless, which the Government does nothing to remedy or to counteract.

The climate is moderate, thoroughly fine, and very healthy. Surrounded by the sea on both sides, the summer heat is mitigated by cool breezes, and the winter cold, though very severe in the north, is less perceptible in the central and southern provinces.

On the whole the climate may be compared more to that of southern Europe than to that of Asia. An oppressive heat, as felt in India, China, and Japan even, takes place only exceptionally; the sun is not nearly so piercing, and foreigners, who would meet in summer-time with a sure and sudden death by exposing themselves to the effects of the sun in those countries, do not incur the same risk in Corea. Cholera and dysentery, it is true, often prevail during the hot season, but they originate more through the improvidence and carelessness of the natives than by fault of the climate. Spring and

autumn are magnificent, and almost completely without rain, and the best proof of the thorough wholesomeness of the climate is rendered by the great number of very old people who are found everywhere in the country.

It follows as a matter of course, that a country blessed with such a beautiful climate, must possess an extraordinarily rich vegetation. Besides many species of flowers peculiar to the soil, all European flowers grow wild, without being taken care of; the Coreans have no mind for their cultivation, and take no pleasure or delight in the same, and a flower-garden is a thing hardly ever seen. The valleys as well as the hills and mountain-slopes are covered with plenty and various plants and woods, and many of the former are eagerly searched for and highly valued by the natives on account of their medicinal qualities. Amongst the species of trees we find nearly all those known to us, the oak, the beech, the fir, the pine, the birch, and the lime. The finest woods and forests grow everywhere, but there are no forest laws to protect them, and everybody is at liberty to cut down as much as he pleases; it happens frequently that entire woods with the finest trees are devastated to make room for a potato or millet field, and the wood is often left on the spot where it is felled, and rots without being put to use by the country people, who have no means to carry it to other parts. There are several species of pines, bearing a large excrescence upon their roots

of a whitish, sometimes greenish or reddish, composition, which is very nutritious and much valued. In the central provinces the cork-tree, the mulberry-tree, and the varnish-tree are frequent, of which the last named produces the splendid gold-coloured varnish, the finest kind of which grows in Corea. The Coreans understand, however, as little how to turn this precious tree to advantage, which furnishes the fine varnish to the workers in lacquer wood in China and Japan, as to employ the mulberry-tree, which grows wild everywhere and thrives well. But as nothing is done to promote the rearing of the silkworm, the cultivation of which is still in its infancy, this valuable tree grows up quite neglected, though a large crop of very fine silk might, with the least exertion, be easily gained. The natives are not so fond of tea as their neighbours, and no pains are taken to cultivate this plant, which likewise grows wild in the central and southern provinces, and would yield a fair crop if properly attended to. The bamboo-tree is general, the vine thrives well, and provides fine and savoury grapes, but it also is allowed to grow without culture. The country likewise produces all fruits current in China, besides strawberries, plums, peaches, apricots, &c. Apple and pear-trees grow wild as the art of grafting is unknown.

The fertile soil of the large plains raises produce of the most varied description, alone sufficient to become a permanent source of prosperity to the

country in case of commercial intercourse with other nations. Besides all kinds of grain, such as wheat, rye, oats, barley, maize, buckwheat, millet, &c., large quantities of very fine rice are raised in the central provinces, which serves here also as the main staple of food for the people—further on beans, peas, cabbages of various sorts, and all kinds of other vegetables. The cotton-shrub thrives very well, frequently even on the hill-slopes growing wild; also hemp, flax, tobacco, dye-stuffs, indigo, and the finest and most valuable species of ginsing, which is paid its weight in gold in China, and for which Corea is far-famed.[1] Unfortunately, all that has just been said is fully applicable to the rearing of these productions; they grow and thrive without the least care being spent upon their culture; commerce and industry, purposely restrained, have no means to employ all these precious gifts of nature, and as their growth cannot be hindered, they are allowed to thrive by themselves as best they may.

The vast mountain-chains and hill-ranges, covered by extensive woods, give shelter to a great number of wild beasts and other animals. Foremost amongst these are several species of the tiger, which is indigenous to the country, and to whose rapacity a great many human lives are annually sacrificed; the royal tiger is met with even in the northern provinces. To judge from the size

[1] The finest quality of this ginsing has been paid as high as 350*l.* to 400*l.* per pound.

of some of the skins seen, the latter must belong to the largest and finest specimens of its kind. There are panthers, leopards, bears, wild hogs, stags, deer, &c.; of the latter a very pretty kind exists without horns, and having tusks on each side of the lower jaw, which serve as well as a weapon of defence, as for peeling off the bark which it requires for food in winter-time. Further on are to be noted foxes, weasels, martens, otters, badgers, sables, and great quantities of the grey squirrel in the north, which is much hunted and prized for its skin; hares, the common European squirrel, a striped species of the same, and the black or flying kind. Besides these and other animals known, there exist, however, several species as yet perfectly unknown, such as the sikniang and the tampi. The natives talk also of a very rare and almost fabulous animal, which is only found in the deepest thicket of the woods, which is reported as a mixture of horse and stag with a single horn to its front, and which is said to be so excessively shy and difficult to be caught, that not a single specimen has been captured for ages past. Curious enough it is that the wolf, so common in the Chinese province of Leau-tong and in Mongolia, does not only not exist, but is altogether unknown in Corea. The animal may possibly be found in the virgin forests of the northern boundaries, which is to be concluded from the fact that its name "ir-hui" exists in the dialect of the frontier dis-

triot, but lower down and in the interior of the country, neither the beast itself, nor its name even, is known to any one.

Of birds of prey, various kinds of eagles, hawks, and vultures are to be mentioned, to which may be added a long list of smaller birds of the same description. Of game, there are myriads of wild geese and ducks, pheasants, partridges, also the red-legged kind of the latter, which exists in the north of China, and resembles the Scotch grouse, snipes, and all the various descriptions of birds, which find plenty of shelter and breeding-places in the numerous hills and mountain slopes.

Domestic animals are not numerous, either in species or in quantity. Cattle-breeding is little understood by the inhabitants of the plains; bullocks of small size, but of fine and strong build, are commonest, but even these are by no means to be found in plenty, and large tracts of land may be crossed without more than a few of these being met with; the possession of two bullocks rendering proof of the greater ease and prosperity of their owner; but as, under existing circumstances, any outward show of ease may prove a source of danger, few are inclined to own to it openly by keeping a great number of cattle. The little mountain ponies, strong and pretty, are imported mainly from the island of Quelpart, but they have always a poor and neglected look here, as people do not know how to treat or keep them well. Pigs and goats

are rare, sheep almost completely unknown; the natives state that the king reserves to himself the right to keep any. Of course there are cats and dogs, the latter generally of the common Chinese breed, nor are they any better looking or show a more friendly disposition to foreigners than those. Geese, ducks, fowls, &c., are, of course, common and plentiful.

The rivers, as well as the sea near the coast, abound in fish; indeed by far the greater portion of the population of the numerous islands on the west coast derive their sole sustenance from fishing. The quality of the fish is excellent; and besides all the kinds known a great many others are caught which are difficult to classify. Enormous quantities of herrings are caught on the west and south-east coast, also of sardines, with which all the markets of the mainland are supplied, and the surplus is used as manure. Near the southern islands and at Quelpart pearl-fishing is carried on extensively; the oysters are very good and much valued on this account, but no use is made of the fine and large shells.

Great as is this abundance of useful and rich produce of all kinds, which alone ought to suffice to render any country opulent, it is nothing as compared to the enormous treasures hidden and uselessly buried in the bowels of the earth and of the mountains. With the exception of very few, all mines worked in former centuries have been permitted to go to ruin, and the proceeds of the former, which the Government

still keeps in hand, are absurdly small, as they are worked in Corean fashion. The searching and digging for precious metals is strictly forbidden, and this prohibition is so rigorously kept up that transgressors are threatened with capital punishment; notwithstanding which it cannot be altogether prevented, at least in those places where gold dust is found, which is the case in nearly all the rivers of the central and southern provinces. The gold thus obtained is of course hidden in the most secret way, and finds its way over the frontier to the yearly fair by smuggling. Gold is found everywhere all over the country, in quartz, and as dust in the river-beds; the province of Pieng'an, nearest to China, is reported to have the richest gold-mines of all. The standard of the Corean gold is a very low one, however, it being of only half the fineness of Chinese gold, while the Corean silver, which is found in many places, is exceedingly fine; the mountain ranges in the province of Kienkei, near the capital, are said to be very rich in silver ore.[1] Han-kien, the province nearest the Russian possessions, is rich in copper-mines and coal; there, and in Kang-ouen, sulphur and arsenic are found; in Hoang-hai, quicksilver, lead, and tin; iron exists everywhere and of very fine quality. Several beautiful species of marble and granite deserve to be mentioned. *I may state here as my decided conviction,*

[1] According to a Corean legend there exists a mountain in the province of Kienkei composed entirely of rich silver ore, on the top of which a city is built.

that no other country on the whole Asiatic continent approaches Corea in mineral wealth.

It is a remarkable fact that, not only in China but elsewhere, Corea is generally considered as altogether barren and unproductive, hardly able to provide sufficient means of sustenance for its own inhabitants, and that its opening to foreign intercourse and commerce would not pay for the pains. I believe I have convincingly proved that nothing can be further from actual truth; that no view can be more erroneous than the latter, which has partly arisen from sheer ignorance, partly from the fact that the natives, and above all the Government itself, like to represent their country as poor on purpose to repress any desire for its opening. And it may not be a wrong assertion to say, that the natives themselves are neither approximately acquainted with, nor know how to value the rich resources of their country; the least possible attention and care is bestowed by them upon the rich produce of the soil, and many of the choicest and most valuable gifts of nature are neglected in the most unjustifiable manner. There being no demand for them for want of an export trade, barely sufficient is raised to supply the more than moderate wants of the inhabitants. The irregularly held fair on the north frontier can hardly be taken into consideration; it is frequented for the greater part only by natives from the north, and is confined to a barter trade in a few articles, such as tiger-skins, sables, paper, ginsing,

and gold dust, against European cotton goods and Chinese silks. Although the import of foreign piece-goods has always been but very small, even this limited trade was considered fraught with danger by the regent, and after the French expedition it was prohibited under pain of death, in consequence of which the prices of all rose enormously. Foreign woollens are altogether unknown in the country, but they would meet with a large and ready sale, as well as any other goods of foreign manufacture. The samples of various descriptions exhibited were looked at everywhere with the greatest interest, and gave rise to a general desire to see them introduced.

The Corean country trade is very limited, and of not nearly the same importance as in China or Japan. The chief commercial town is Sunto, in the province of Hoanghai, the old Sunyo, formerly the royal residence until the latter was transferred to Saoul. In this place are the merchants proper of the country to be found, and Sunto forms the principal dépôt of all such articles and goods, which are required for the clothing and other necessaries of the population. Next to Sunto comes Pieng'an, in the province and on the river of the like name, as the second commercial place, a name to which Saoul, though the most populous city in the country, can lay no claim. The main staples of trade here also are all kinds of victuals and the white and coloured cotton goods of coarse make manufactured in the country. Having been unable to visit those commercial cities myself,

I cannot personally judge of the look and appearance of their stores and shops, or say whether they surpass those in the smaller cities in size or in greater variety of their contents, but from what I have gathered on this account from creditable sources I have reason to doubt that this is the case. Nowhere is there a trace of the life and bustle met with even in second and third-rate Chinese towns, and it almost looks as if the commercial spirit of the people were fast asleep, and would only be roused when the country is opened to foreign intercourse and trade.

In industrial art and workmanship the Coreans rank far below any other Asiatic nation. The reason for this can only be ascribed to the decidedly repressive system of the Government, which for its own political aims and reasons does not only not look with favour upon any industrial progress, but directly suppresses and hinders the same. It stands to reason that such a proceeding could not but impede any improvement in its very bud, nor can any change for the better be looked for until the system dominant at present is done away with. The Coreans are neither wanting in ingenuity nor in skilfulness, and it would only require a little instruction and encouragement to make as good and able workmen of them as we find amongst the Chinese and Japanese.[1] It cannot, however, be a

[1] As an instance of this ingenuity on the part of a simple Corean workman, Mons. Ridel, one of the missionaries saved from the massacre, told me that he had once given his watch to a

matter of surprise, that the spirit of industrial enterprise is nearly crushed in a country, which for ages past has been suffering under an oppressive political system, and has been estranged from almost all intercourse with its nearest neighbours.

The manufacture of the coarse cotton and hempen goods forms the principal item of native industry. They are much inferior in texture to the commonest English unbleached cottons, the materials used for children's and soldier's dresses is dyed, the latter dark blue. Silk piece-goods are not made in the country, the only home-made article I have seen was a kind of twisted silk sash or girdle worn by the upper classes. All silks worn by the nobles and officials are of Chinese manufacture. The cloth used for stockings is a trifle finer, and woven in one piece.

There are two articles in which the Corean industry excels, in the manufacture of paper, and in that of the splendid wire and straw-plaiting used for the commonly worn hats, &c.

The Corean paper is excellent, far superior to the Chinese, and even to the best sorts of Japan, and it is so strong that a great effort is required to tear it. It is made principally of hemp, and in an oiled state is used for umbrellas, waterproof coats, caps, &c.

native for a small repair, and that he was not a little taken aback to see the man return after a while with the exact counterpart of his own watch, which he had put together without ever having seen a watch before.

The very small quantities, which find their way over the Chinese frontier are highly valued there. As glass and its manufacture is completely unknown, oiled paper takes its place in windows and doors.

Woollens are not made in the country, mainly for the reason mentioned previously, that sheep are very rare and are quite unknown in many parts. As there is no want of furs of all descriptions, these have served to replace woollen goods, but there is no question that the latter would soon find a great market and a ready sale.

In the manufacture of metals, wood, and of articles of curiosity and luxury, such as are made in China and Japan from ivory, lacquer-ware, &c., in so great perfection, the Corean art ranks very low. Indeed it would be almost impossible to specify anything in this line worth mentioning—their vessels of copper and other metals are of common workmanship without any claim or pretension to art. The gold and silver work stands on a little higher level; at all events the ornaments from these precious metals show a somewhat greater neatness and better taste.

The manufacture of china is unknown and the native earthen and crockery-ware is of the very commonest description.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST VOYAGE TO COREA.

First proposals to visit Corea—Difficulties to get there—The steamer "Rona" placed at my disposal for the voyage—Departure from Shanghai—Ross, Maury, and Modeste Islands—The Prince Imperial Archipelago—Joachim and Caroline Bay—Visit to the same and first landing in the latter—Our reception there—Corean fishing-boats—The Chasseriau bank—Prince Jérome Gulf—We enter the same in search of the River—Exploring expeditions in the Rona's boats—The village elder—Message sent by the same to the local authorities—Friendly behaviour of the natives—First impressions—Womanish look of unmarried men—Our first visitors—Preparations on shore and procession of officials—They are invited to come on board—Kam-Ta-wha, district governor of Heimi—His prepossessing appearance—His dress—The chief of police and his state robe—His zeal in keeping up order—First conversation with Kam-Ta-wha—Formalities of introduction—His reply to my proposals—Promises to send off letters to Saoul—Fondness of the natives for strong drinks—The dancing colonel—First trip inland—The friendly farmer and his daughters—Attempt to stop our progress resented—General friendliness of the people—Trip to the plains of Kungcha—Meeting with the police-officer on the road—The unfortunate village trumpeter—Second visit of Kam-Ta-wha on board—I decide to leave in the "Rona"—The Corean General—His friendly feeling on behalf of foreigners—Departure from Hei-mi.

AFTER a seclusion, rigorously kept up for several centuries, Japan, which has not inappropriately been

called the England of Asia, had again been opened in 1859 to foreign intercourse and commerce. What had been considered as an affair of extreme difficulty, and an event of great improbability only a few years previously, even in China, had been effected with comparative facility and ease, and the results which the opening of this beautiful country were generally expected to realize have certainly not been overrated in a political, commercial, or scientific point of view.

On my return to China, after a visit to Japan immediately after the opening of its ports, my attention was called by several of my native friends to another country of scarcely less importance, which, notwithstanding its close proximity to China and Japan, still remained completely closed and inaccessible to the outer world, viz. the kingdom of Corea. Enterprising and intelligent Chinese merchants had for years past cast their eyes in that direction, and a good deal of information had been collected upon the commercial capacities of the country, which promised to be very satisfactory—but other matters prevented me at the time from entering more closely into the scheme of paying a visit to Corea, the more so as a journey then could only have been made by the long and tedious route across the north of China, which was found altogether impracticable. Many years later the subject was again brought before me from the same quarter and taken into more serious consideration. A journey by land being out of the question, there was only the sea route left to be

considered. A sailing vessel could easily have been obtained, but as only very superficial surveys of the coast had been made as yet and no reliable charts existed, and as the approach to the coast was known to be extremely dangerous on account of the many shoals and reefs near the same, the idea of going by a sailing ship had also to be dismissed.

I now laid my plan before Mr. James Whittall, the managing partner of the largest British firm in China, with the proposal to join in the projected expedition and voyage of discovery. To this gentleman it is due to state, that only his spirit and liberality enabled me, by placing a steamer at my disposal for the purpose, and by smoothing the way of all remaining difficulties, to carry out the project in view. The fine steamer "Rona," Captain James Morrison, belonging to the house, had just been chartered for a voyage to Newchwang, and it was arranged that, in deviation from the direct course to her destination, the steamer should visit the west coast of Corea. Under these circumstances the time that could be allotted for this trip was very short, as only five days could be spared for the same, which had to serve for reconnoitring purposes, preparatory to later expeditions. My object in the first instance was to discover and ascend the large river leading to the capital, and to enter into preliminary communication with the Corean authorities, with the view to open up commercial and friendly relations with the country. As the charts then known did not give the slightest

indication of this river or of its mouth, the existence of which I never doubted, as moreover the position of the capital itself was marked very vaguely and in different places, I decided, under these rather difficult circumstances, to direct the "Rona's" course as near as possible to the spot where I hoped easiest to succeed in my search, and selecting the Prince Jérome Gulf as starting-point, to collect any information obtainable in one of the many bays near the latter. The vessel's course was accordingly shaped direct for the Corean coast, and early on the second morning after leaving Shanghai we made the southernmost of the Corean Islands, namely Ross, Maury, and Modeste Islands, which have quite a barren look without any sign of life near them. Passing close to these, a north-easterly direction was now taken for one of the numerous bights on the main coast. The projecting coast-line of the southern part of the Prince Imperial Archipelago is formed by three bays closely adjacent to each other, viz. Joachim, Caroline, and Deception Bay. The French sailing frigate "Virginie" reports a town of 4000 inhabitants in the first of these, and we accordingly entered Joachim Bay on the following morning to pay a visit to this place. We proceeded up this bay as far as practicable, but there was no trace of any such place on the shore, and it appears to have only existed in the imagination of the French reporter. The sea being rather rough, and a stiff north-easterly breeze blowing right into the bay,

the landing being found difficult and a protracted stay unsafe, we proceeded a few miles further north to Caroline Bay, which offered a better sheltered and more secure anchorage. This is a very fine, nearly circular bay, surmounted all round by a line of pretty hills, which glittered like gold and silver in the morning sun. There was nothing to be seen on shore but a small fishing village, and four or five boats at anchor near the same. Here I landed for

FIRST LANDING IN CAROLINE BAY, WEST COAST OF COREA.

the first time on Corean soil, accompanied by Captain Morrison and a Chinese interpreter. On approaching the shore in our gig, we observed a great many white-clad people running up the hills as fast as their legs would carry them—hardly a matter of surprise, as a steamer had never before entered the bay. A few old and decrepit men only, unable to follow

their friends, had been left behind, and awaited our landing at the entrance of the village, apparently very much frightened.

A very old and venerable-looking man came up to me with signs of great deference, bearing in his hands a brazier with charcoal burning in it—this was possibly intended to drive away the evil spirits, for which the simple people may have taken us. But the old gentleman and his friends got visibly more at ease as soon as they found that we came with peaceful and friendly intentions; and when the people on the hills, who had watched our approach very attentively, seemed satisfied by the cordial intercourse that there was no danger to be feared, they returned one by one after a while, and we soon found ourselves surrounded by a large crowd of natives, who, with many exclamations, uttered their surprise at our strange looks.

We were asked to enter one of the huts, of very uninviting appearance in its interior, but we vainly tried to enter into conversation with each other, as none of those present seemed to understand the Chinese characters. We were glad to escape the stifling atmosphere of the miserable hovel, and ascended several of the nearest hills, the surface of which was composed of yellow and white glimmer (mica), but they were not sufficiently high to get a good view inland from them. On our return our old friend presented me with twenty fine fresh herrings, which I thankfully accepted,

returning a number of empty bottles and some other trifles, for the same; the bottles were quite new to the people, and they evidently did not know what to do with them, but they were very eager notwithstanding to get them. Some portions of the slopes appeared to be in a good state of cultivation, various kinds of vegetables, cabbages, &c., growing there.

On passing the fishing-boats on our way back to

FISHING-BOAT.

the "Rona," we were pressingly invited to go on board the largest of them, and we went, hoping to get some information there. One of the natives indeed understood Chinese writing, but he appeared much more anxious to put questions to us than to answer those which we addressed to him, and rather afraid

to compromise himself in the presence of so many lookers-on. At all events we had no reason to complain of an unfriendly reception—it was, on the contrary, rather too warm and obtrusive, and the boat was soon crowded by so many people that we were glad to withdraw from their rather uninviting presence, after having vainly tried to induce some of them to accompany us on board the "Rona."

FISHERMAN.

The Corean fishing-boats resemble the Japanese more than the Chinese, but they are of rude construction, the outer planks are fitted one above the other with wooden nails, and they have mat sails.

Although very deep, they have no decks, but only a few beams across, and the whole hold is open, into which the caught fish is thrown. Each of these boats appeared to carry a crew of some thirty to forty men, but later on I saw some with a crew of more than sixty men on board. The white dresses[1] of the natives, which had looked so bright and pleasing from a distance, lost much of their apparent freshness and neatnest when closely looked at. The weather being still cool (March) a good many of the natives wore high fur caps of sable, &c., with a back part sloping down and protecting the neck.

As it had meanwhile grown too late to leave our safe place of anchorage before night, we remained there until next morning's flood. The Chasseriau bank stretches along the whole length of the three bays just named, only leaving a very narrow but deep channel. This bank and all others further out to sea are entirely bare at low water, and nothing is then visible but an immense track of sand-banks all round. The highest rise and fall of the sea here was found to reach twenty-six feet. Passing by Shoal Gulf, which had previously been surveyed by a boat from the British ship "Amherst,"[2] where no sign of a river leading to the capital had been discovered, we proceeded a little further to the north-

[1] See Chapter iv.

[2] Voyage of the ship "Amherst" to the northern ports of China. Gützlaff's Voyage, 1832.

ward, at which place the frigate "Virginie," during her cruise among the islands of the Prince Imperial Archipelago, reports to have observed, near Prince Jérome Gulf, a great many Corean vessels, the appearance of which had caused the belief that the river in question could not be far off, and was in fact to be found in the latter. Prince Jérome Gulf forms the southernmost part of this large Archipelago, with hundreds of islands, which extends as far as the island of Kangwha, and has nine branches, some of which run very far inland;[1] but they are not marked down on any chart. One channel only was indicated on ours, and into this we steamed for about ten miles, when we had to stop on account of the shallow water, but Captain Morrison's hope to be able to reach the capital by this way under full steam, was not realized. We were indeed compelled to relinquish all hope to that effect after progressing a few miles, as there was not the slightest indication of the mouth of a large river. This channel of the gulf is about half a mile in width, and is bordered on both sides by a chain of very high hills with narrow terrace-like formed inlets, which were cultivated, and had villages in some of them. There was not a sign of life however on either side of the shore. As the gulf stretched far inland and its end was not discernible from our anchorage, it was decided to

[1] One of these branches, visited at a later date, extended at the very least thirty miles inland.

explore the same, and to make further progress dependent from the result. One boat, commanded by the chief engineer, was despatched in one direction, while Captain Morrison and myself sailed down the gulf in the large cutter, the end of which we reached with a fair and strong breeze in two hours. We landed at the foot of a high hill, on the top of which we saw a good number of Coreans, and going straight up to them I demanded, through our interpreter, the elder of the largest village near to be sent for. There was a difference observable already in the outer appearance of these natives and those met with in Caroline Bay—they looked cleaner and better off, and the majority understood Chinese writing. In a short time the man sent off returned, followed immediately by the person asked for, who approached slowly and solemnly, with the grandeur of a Spanish noble, bearing a long staff in his hand. A mat was put down on the ground, on which he squatted down native fashion, the interpreter taking his place beside him, and the conversation in writing commenced, with hundreds of Coreans around us. I was informed that we were in the district of Hei-mi, that the highest official of the same lived thirty Cor. li = three English miles distant, but that it was impossible to see him to-day on account of his being ill; a promise was, however, given to despatch a message at once to this functionary, asking him to come himself next day to talk matters over. Asking for Kingitao or Han-

ching, the names by which the capital is marked down on foreign charts, none of the people appeared ever to have heard these names; when they were made to understand that the residence of the king was meant, all cried out together Saŏul, Saŏul! (pron. Saŭl). Later on I learned positively that the capital is known under no other name in the country itself.[1] All I could learn further on this subject was that the people stated the capital to be 2000 li inland—the distance being of course greatly exaggerated to prove at once the impossibility to get there—the other questions were answered in so evasive and evidently anxious a manner, that it soon became plain the people were afraid to compromise themselves by greater frankness. At the close of the conversation the village elder begged hard to be allowed to keep the paper on which the same had been written down, to which I consented, upon his expressing the wish to submit it to his superiors. Meanwhile the crowd had vastly increased, as the population of all the villages in the neighbourhood had flocked together to get a view of the strangers. There was not only no sign of a bad disposition towards us observable, but the manifestations of goodwill and friendship became rather oppressive after we had distributed as many

[1] Henrik Hamel states, that he also has heard "Sior" as the name given to the capital, which he calls Kingitao, notwithstanding—a name which is no longer in use at present. The literal translation of Saŏul is "King's Court."

cigars and matches as we could spare from our supply. None of the people were armed; and when the system of the revolvers we carried was explained, and a few shots were fired, they all appeared greatly frightened and looked with dread at this formidable weapon. They were all dressed in cottons of more or less common quality, the sashes of several who seemed to be in easy circumstances, and to which pipes, tobacco-pouches, &c., were fastened, being of coarse Corean silk. The Coreans wear a kind of short tail, which is tied together on the top of the head and stands upright; the hair around is allowed to grow, and is not shaved as with the Japanese. There were a good many children and young people present whose hair was parted in the middle, and who had one or two tails tied round the head. They had so womanish an appearance that we naturally took them to belong to the female part of the population; on inquiry, however, I learned that we had been mistaken, and that all unmarried males wear their hair in this style. Indeed there was not a single woman in the whole crowd, a circumstance which was fully explained when I became better acquainted with the customs of the country.[1]

[1] See Chapter iv. Captain Broughton states (in his Voyage of Discovery, vol. ii. pp. 228—246, and C. Ritter, Description of the Globe, Berlin, 1834, vol. iv. p. 617), that during his visit near Chosian harbour his vessel had been surrounded by boats containing men and women, the latter of whom wore tails tied round the

After parting on the best terms from these villagers, we determined to return to the steamer across the hills running along the shore of the bay. The inhabitants of all the villages and places we passed poured out in crowds, and accompanied us part of the way in the friendliest manner. A favorable report had no doubt gone before us, and made the people well disposed.

All the hill-slopes we passed were quite uncultivated, though there was a fine rich soil everywhere. Some had pretty groups of trees, and were covered with pines, firs, &c., and with a good deal of brushwood, amongst which were many cotton-trees growing wild; dwarf oaks were also to be seen in plenty. After a march of several hours we arrived at the spot where our vessel was at anchor, and descending to the shore we found a great crowd of people assembled there. At first, not one of the natives could be induced to come on board; but just on the point of starting one native took courage and jumped into the boat. All were now eager to follow, but as we had room only for a few I selected the most decent-looking, who now gladly followed us. There was not much to be got out of these people, who appeared evidently afraid of each other in giving information; but after having been treated

head. There is no doubt that he also has been so far misled by the womanish appearance of these men as to mistake them for women, as it is quite contrary to the customs of the country to allow women to go about in the daytime.

on board with wines, biscuits, &c., whiho they relished immensely, they returned, highly pleased, ashore; and I felt pretty sure that the account of their visit would make a favorable impression far and wide in the country.

Very early next morning the shores and hills opposite our anchorage offered a scene full of life. They were covered as early as six o'clock with a multitude of white-clad natives, who seemed to have crowded together from the whole neighbourhood, and it was soon observable that something extraordinary and out of the common was to take place. On the top of the highest hill, just facing the steamer, workmen were employed to construct a hut covered with matting, and a number of three-pointed blue flags were stuck up round the same. The sounds of trumpets and bugles could be heard far across the mountains, and about seven o'clock a long procession was observed to reach the summit of the hill. It was preceded by trumpeters, and a good many horsemen escorted a number of porte-chaises, which deposited their occupants under the shelter of the hut. Probably it was expected that we would come on shore, but this did not suit me, and I despatched the first officer and an interpreter on shore, with a polite letter of invitation to the officials, asking them to come on board. This was accepted after they had conferred together, and the district mandarin, with some of his body-servants, came on board with the ship's boat, while the other

officials, followed by a numerous suite, arrived in two large native boats. The village elder had not told an untruth yesterday in speaking of the illness of this official, as his servants had to carry him up the ship's ladder, and had to support him on both sides in walking. I was quite struck by the dignified appearance and the expressive features of this old man, which contrasted very favorably with those of Chinese officials. A long grey beard descended to the chest from a face of a cast almost European, which showed energy and goodnature combined.

Over his white under-clothing he wore several jackets of sky-blue Chinese flowered silk, with sleeves nearly a yard wide at the wrist; the broad-brimmed finely-plaited Corean hat was fixed on the top of a sable cap, which descended to and covered the neck. One of his followers bore the sign of his dignity, a staff about three feet long, round which various coloured ribbons were tied, another an old short Japanese sword, very rusty and worn, which looked as if it had not been drawn for many years. Pipes, tobacco, and other necessaries, were carried by other servants.

There was one official amongst the suite whose queer costume created quite a sensation. He turned out to be the chief of the police, and ordering the people continually about seemed to take great pains in keeping up order. His upper vestment consisted of a silk jacket, which originally appeared to have been

red, but had now faded into an indistinct yellow; and though it looked rather ragged, and was badly torn in several places, he was evidently not a little proud of this state dress, which was likely donned only on festive occasions. A Corean black felt soldier's hat, broad-brimmed, and with a pointed top, which was ornamented with a fox-tail and a red cock's feather, completed his toilette, and made him look rather more ludicrous than formidable. He carried bow and arrows slung over his back, and presented me with several of the latter; and was awfully busy all day to restrain and watch over the good behaviour of the natives, who crowded on board, but who conducted themselves quite decently, making allowance for a curiosity perfectly excusable and an astounding thirst for wines and liquors. It was highly amusing to see him remonstrate with hand and foot whenever he found any of the visitors evincing a more than ordinary tendency in the last respect; and it was no doubt only his extreme zeal and sense of duty, which made him confiscate and drink all extra portions himself, which others had been lucky enough to obtain. The glowing effect of excitement and wine was plainly enough visible on his face at the end of his arduous day's work.

As soon as the district mandarin, with some of the lower officials and his secretaries, had taken their seats in the large saloon of the "Rona," the conversation commenced in writing, as none of the Coreans present could speak Chinese. It was opened by

this functionary, expressing his admiration at our daring to travel "so far over the sea into unknown regions," and a hope that the voyage had been a good one. Then followed the introduction of every person present, whose names and ages were written down accurately. The old man got up from his seat at each name, lifted his arms high above the head, and putting his hands together made a solemn and dignified bow, a mode of salutation differing somewhat from the Chinese fashion.

It had taken nearly an hour to get through these preliminaries; and after having freely partaken of the wines and cherry-brandy offered to them, which latter they relished immensely, our visitors commenced to unbend a little and to feel more at ease. The title and name of the district governor who appeared to be about sixty-five years of age, was Kam-Ta-wha.[1] I then explained to him the purpose of our visit, and the desire to open commercial and friendly relations with Corea, stating at the same time my intention to send the steamer away, and to remain on shore until her return, for the purpose of coming to some final arrangement regarding the proposal submitted. As to the first point, he replied, as I had expected, that it was not within his power or province to decide upon so important a question, but that this must be done by the Government in Saoul. He expressed his willing-

[1] The first syllable, kam or kum, an abbreviation of kam-sá, expresses the rank and title of district-governor.

ness, however, to despatch a courier, without delay, with a letter in which I was to state my wishes; and promised that he would do all he could to forward my views, and expressed the serious wish, as well on his own part as on that of his country-men, that the head-government would accept the proposal of entering into an intercourse with foreign nations. I have reason to believe that the man really was sincere in this wish, which was shared by all the Coreans whom I met with. He added that within four to six days either a reply in writing could be returned, or that envoys with the necessary instructions could have arrived to treat the matter in question. When I remarked to him that the time named was too long, and that I could not retain the steamer for so many days, but that on this account I must insist the more to get a place on shore to wait there for the answer from Saoul, he tried—turning to me in a most eloquent way (while the secretary noted down his speech in writing)—to dissuade me from putting this plan into execution. He said, that he could well understand my desire, to have a more roomy dwelling on shore after so protracted a voyage; but that he would be risking his head, if he allowed me to do so on his own authority. We discussed this subject for a long time, without however arriving at any other result, than that he faithfully promised to support my proposal as much as lay in his power. The whole morning and part of the afternoon had passed

away in treating these various points, and much time was necessarily lost in writing down the various questions and answers. As nothing could be obtained that day by pressing the question further, it was at last abandoned; and I had to remain satisfied in having gained the goodwill and favour of the governor and of all his compatriots.

This political conversation at an end, Ta-wha became quite confidential and loquacious, complained of his bad health, and as he suffered moreover of a stiff neck he thankfully accepted some plaster and suitable medicines from the ship's dispensary. He appeared evidently gratified when asked to stop to dinner, and amazingly enjoyed, with his companions, the good things placed before them. We were surprised to see them handle knives and forks so well, as if they had been used to them all their lives.[1] We were just sitting down to table, when a military mandarin, a colonel by rank, sent down his card and asked leave to pay us a visit. The first thing he did on entering the saloon was to kneel down before the governor, who raised him up after a good deal of complimenting had passed between them. An extraordinary amount of liquor was consumed by our guests, which caused them to become quite noisy and hilarious after dinner; and when some of the large musical boxes, which I had brought with me among the presents, were set

[1] See Chapter iv., p. 141.

playing, they got quite excited, and the colonel, setting aside his dignified deportment, commenced dancing to the tunes of the music, which he accompanied by a monotonous and not very melodious song. Old Ta-wha remained the most sober and quietest of all, but looked on quite pleased and amused; towards evening, however, he thought it time to be off, as he wished to send off his despatches before night, and he left us at last with many thanks for the kind reception, and with reiterated assurances of his goodwill and friendship. The next morning was intended for a reconnoitring tour inland, and I started very early with Leeching, a Chinese interpreter, the chief engineer of the "Rona," and several men of the crewa s body-guard. An old well-to-do farmer had invited us to his place two days ago, promising to furnish me with further information, and to his place our march was first directed. After a long walk of some hours over the hills, we reached the valley, in which his farmhouse was situated close to a very large village, the houses of which were all built of mud and straw-thatched. The farmhouse, however, showed at once the better standing of its owner; it was built of brick, with a tile roof, quite in the Japanese style, and had a verandah paved with stones all around it. It was charmingly situated on the slope of a hill, and had a fine view over a well-cultivated large plain. As soon as we got close to the place, we overtook two young and pretty Corean girls, who

fled immediately into the interior of the house, and concealed themselves in the women's apartment. They were the daughters of the proprietor, and did not reappear again during our visit.

We were received in the most friendly way by our host, who conducted us into the outer apartments of his house, which was a great deal, as Coreans in general are not famous for hospitality, and they have a dislike to let strangers enter their dwellings. A weak attempt was also made to make us accept some saki, &c., while part of the provisions we carried with us was accepted with great pleasure. Of course not only the population of the village, but the people from all the country round flocked together immediately our coming was known, and as it was impossible to get rid of them in good manner, and to remain alone without causing suspicion, our friend was afraid to get into a scrape by giving us the promised information in the presence of so many listeners and lookers-on, and we could learn nothing from him. When I saw that nothing was to be gained by stopping here any longer, and that the people hesitated even to give us a guide into the country, I made up my mind to proceed without one.

Descending into the large plain before us, we found several natives squatting down at a certain distance from each other, who tried to prevent our going on by threatening looks and calls. As we had to pass them on our way, I determined to put an end to this at once, and going up to the first lot

with the hand to my revolver, made them understand in so plain a way how little we were afraid of, or cared for them, that they got terrified and turned at once cringingly polite; and passing purposely close by those who sat forming a line further on without appearing to take any notice of them, while they did not venture to move or to utter a word, we walked on without any further hindrance or molestation. This was the first and last time that an attempt was made to stop us on the road, and I have no doubt that nothing but the determined and not to be mistaken way in which it was treated, prevented a later recurrence. On the contrary, from that time forward everybody seemed eager to receive us as kindly and friendly as possible.

Our road now led us for many miles up hill and down dale after having traversed the extensive plain, but none of these hills, though of a considerable height, offered a distant view, as the valleys between were rather narrow. Rice and vegetables seemed to be mostly cultivated in them. The roads along the hill ranges were not more than three or four feet wide, but were kept in very good order, and in most parts were very easy to walk upon. I found but few of the hills in these parts composed of pure quartz as in Caroline Bay; they were, on the contrary, covered up to their summits with an excellent soil, which might easily have been made productive. Cotton shrubs grew everywhere wild, and small woods of fir, beech, ash, and dwarf oak were frequent. The

great number of clear springs are a great boon to the country, they supply the plains everywhere with splendid and pure water. Some of these, springing from the mountains, had quite a red colour, which serves as a proof of the iron richness of the hills, and the taste of the water corroborated this view. About four o'clock in the afternoon we had reached the summit of a very high mountain which offered a fine view all round; a wide plain was observable about fifteen miles off, in which Kung-cha, the largest town of the district, is situated. But as we were already too far distant from our starting-point to think of going any farther that day, we had to turn back so as not to lose our way in the dark. Descending into the densely populated plain we soon found ourselves in company with many hundreds of natives, some of whom had been on board the day before, and these appeared not a little proud to be able to show their less fortunate neighbours that they could claim our acquaintance. There was not the slightest sign of hostility; on the contrary, the show of goodwill and friendship got rather a little too demonstrative and troublesome. Our telescopes and marine glasses proved a great attraction, and as everybody wished to have a look through them, I had to remonstrate with a few who did not pass them on quickly enough, and who were consequently soundly abused by their better-mannered companions.

Accompanied by an enormous crowd we arrived at last opposite the "Rona's" anchorage, where we took

leave of our escort. As the time allotted for our stay was fast drawing to a close, I despatched the same evening an energetic letter to Kam-Ta-wha, in which I informed him that I was going to choose a residence on shore until the steamer's return, and that I intended to call at his place early the next morning.

In pursuance of this I started early the following day in the ship's cutter with the intention, first to explore the large plain which we had seen yesterday. The way into the same led through a narrow mountain pass, which we hoped to reach sooner by going down the gulf, but several miles before we got to its end we were obliged to stop on account of the shallow water, and to land on a very deep and unpleasant mud shore, through which we had to wade knee deep for nearly half a mile before we reached firm ground. The country hereabout was rather desolate and little populated, and it took a walk of several hours before we could get a view of the pass, which led through a long ridge of mountains into the plain. As the distance to the pass itself was at least still some twelve or fifteen miles, and it would have taken four hours to get to it, I abandoned the original plan of visiting the plain, and we struck right into the country over the hill-ranges before us. After a long and tiresome march we reached a very large village, where we were received very kindly by the people, and the village elder offered at once to provide us with a guide, as soon as he learned that

we were on our way to the governor's place. We had, however, hardly proceeded more than a few miles on our way, when we were overtaken in great haste by an official on horseback with a police soldier on foot who carried a blue flag, and a long flat piece of wood formed like an oar stuck in his sash like a sword. The man on horseback proved to be the chief of the police who had been on board the day before last, but instead of his gala costume, he wore to-day the ordinary white Corean dress. Hearing where we were bound to, he proposed to conduct us himself and joined us. His great anxiety and readiness made me mistrust him at once, and my suspicion increased when I remarked that, instead of pursuing the road into the country, he led us unawares back to the direction where the "Rona" was anchored. I did not feel in the least inclined to allow myself to be fooled by this gentleman, or to let him think that he could do so without risk. I made him stop and dismount, greatly to his surprise and terror, and told him to take care what he was doing, as I should find the means to punish him severely if he tried to mislead us. I guessed that a visit at Hei-mi from us was not altogether the thing desired; though likely not personally averse to receive us, the governor seemed afraid to compromise himself with the Government, and when I had mentioned my intention to him during his visit on board, he replied that his residence was so far off, and so poor, that he could not offer me a proper and suitable reception,

and that on this account it would not be worth my while to carry out my intention; of course it was easy enough to perceive his real reason.

My threatening looks produced at once their desired effect; he humbly begged me not to be offended with him, as he really was going to conduct us to the district governor, who—and then only the truth came out—he assured me, had himself gone on board the steamer several hours ago upon the receipt of my last letter. He would leave it to me to punish him, if I found out that he had told me an untruth. It was not likely that the man would dare to tell a lie under the circumstances, and there was nothing left but to proceed on our road back to the anchorage. I made him, however, understand that I would not set him free until I found his statement verified on coming on board.

We moved on accordingly along the mountains, until we got into a densely populated valley, the inhabitants of which flocked around us in great crowds. An amusing incident happened at the first large village through which we passed. The heat being very great, I had lagged a little behind, and reaching the village later than my companions, I saw a great crowd assembled, and in the midst of the same our leader gesticulating and bawling out quite furiously. Hastening to the spot, I observed an unfortunate native stretched on the ground on his belly, deprived of his inexpressibles, and the police soldier occupied to administer to the same with evident

relish several strokes *ad posteriora* with the piece of wood he carried with him. I stopped the execution and learned on inquiry, that the party just punished was the village trumpeter, who, as the official told me, had been wanting in the respect due to me, by omitting to sound his trumpet on my entering the village. The poor fellow would likely have escaped his punishment altogether but for the previous scene, and our friend appeared not only glad of the opportunity to re-establish his shaken authority in the eyes of his countrymen, but also to make me forget any unpleasant feeling, by showing himself over zealous. The unfortunate trumpeter placed himself after his release at the head of our procession, and it was amusing to see him march on blowing his trumpet as hard as he could, while he rubbed and patted his beaten back with the other hand. On reaching the shore opposite our anchorage, the officer proved to have spoken the truth, as the governor was really on board, and had already waited several hours for my return, as I learned on coming on board; the letter which he had received last night appeared to have terrified him very much, and had caused him to come down to the steamer at once. When I joined him in the saloon, I found the police official making his report in rather an excited manner, making believe as if he had almost been in danger of his life. Ta-wha listened quietly to his tale, smilingly winking at me from time to time, as if to say, that he understood well enough that I had

only intended to frighten him. Proceeding to the business which had brought him on board, the governor said, that he had come to try to make me desist from my plan to live on shore at present —of course he could not compel me to do so if I insisted upon it, but he begged me to consider the awkward position in which he would be placed with his Government, and the responsibility which he would thereby incur. He asked me, if this were possible, to postpone the departure of the steamer, until a reply had arrived from the capital, and, to prove his own sincerity in the matter, he proposed to send off an express at once to hasten the reply. He would therefore once more beg me most earnestly to take no steps without mature consideration, so as not to cause any difficulties to himself, and to damage my own wishes prematurely.

It was not easy to come to a resolve in the face of this, and I consulted with Captain Morrison upon what was to be done. To delay the steamer's departure was out of the question, without incurring a great responsibility with its owners and running the risk of causing a heavy claim for damages being made upon them for its detention. There remained only the two alternatives—either to let the steamer proceed on her voyage, to remain on shore, and there to await the Government officers, or to drop negotiations at present and to reopen them at a future and more auspicious time. As far as I personally was concerned, I inclined strongly to follow the first course.

I had no fear of any danger threatening our safety, and I could have secured the latter by taking a strong and well-armed body-guard of lascars with me, but when I turned to ask the Chinese interpreters, whose assistance was absolutely necessary to me, to stop with me on shore, as they had previously promised to do, they became so much alarmed and prayed me not to expose them to what they thought a very dangerous proceeding, that nothing was left to me but very reluctantly to relinquish my plan, and to continue at a later period what had now been commenced. Of the resolution which I had finally come to, I did not at once inform Kam-Ta-wha, who did his utmost to win me over by increased politeness during dinner, which he shared with us. Towards evening he left us at last with renewed expressions of his devotion and gratitude for the good reception on board. Late at night I sent him a letter, in which I told him of the resolution taken, also that I should shortly return to reopen the negotiations.

Not long after Ta-wha's departure a big boat came alongside, a card was sent up, and leave was asked by an official to visit us. It proved to be a military man with general's rank, who had come, as he said, some twenty miles' distance specially and on purpose to see us. He was of a higher rank than Ta-wha, and had a very distinguished and polite bearing. As he did not appear in any official capacity he was only accompanied by a single secretary, showed much less constraint than the governor had done,

and his visit proved in so far of no little interest to us, as it gave witness of the opinion of the higher officials with regard to the proposed intercourse with foreign nations. He freely and candidly opened his mind on this subject, expressing his sincere wish that our visit "over the sea" would lead to something, and be conducive to an intercourse "to mutual faith and benefit,"—and he showed himself friendly to such a degree as to invite me to his place, and promised to send provisions and even cattle on board. Unfortunately I could neither accept his invitation nor wait for the latter, as our departure had now been fixed positively for the next morning. He expressed his great admiration for all he observed on board, and left us only late at night with the renewed hope that the country would soon be opened to foreigners; the secretary appeared no less satisfied, perhaps on account of the quantity of stiff grog which he had been delighted to consume.

At daybreak next day we left our anchorage and steamed out of the gulf northward bound. The account of a later voyage will show how far I was successful in discovering the river leading to the capital of Saoul, and what happened during this voyage.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND VOYAGE.

News received of the murder of the French missionaries—Preparations for the voyage—The steamer "Emperor"—Her crew, &c.—Departure—The desert of sandbanks—Caroline Bay revisited—The nine branches of the Prince Jérome Gulf—Difficulty of entrance—Old Kam-Ta-wha again—Is much delighted but rather puzzled at our reappearance—Offers his services, which are declined—Corean converts deliver a letter from Mons. Ridel—Contents of the letter and my reply—Hunt for the surviving missionaries—Their dangerous position—The convert Philippus and his companions—Latin letter of Philippus—Their visit on board—Account received from the same—Mons. Ridel's escape—Terrorism exercised by the Regent and his creatures—"Blood is thicker than water"—One of the converts offers to pilot us, but is prevented from coming on board, the shore being closely watched—Unwelcome visit of Ta-wha, who is summarily dismissed—We leave without a pilot—The watch-house on the hills pulled down—The Prince Imperial Archipelago—Heavy gales—Friendly visits to some islands—The sulky official and the only woman of the place—Vain search for the river—General discouragement—Run for the Tsiatong Islands—Mr. Parker volunteers to search for the river in the ship's cutter—Suspense during his absence—The cutter's return—Discovery of the river Kangkiang—Getting under weigh to Saoŭl—Lundy and Beacon Hill Islands—Dangerous navigation and beautiful scenery—We get aground—Ailsa Craig—Strong tides—First landing on the river banks—Friendly reception by the natives—The town of Kiautong—The district official appears and wants us to stop—We barely escape a fight with his escort—Comes on board—Our conversation—The lying official—Oh no, this is

not the Kangkiang!—The Corean's visit through the stern cabin windows—He warns us of the official—The latter has to leave the steamer much against his will—The dangerous reef "Barrier Rocks"—The island of Kangwha—Dismantled forts—Approach to the town of Kangwha—Enormous concourse of natives—Two Tree mountain—Meeting with the local authorities on shore, who accept the invitation to come on board—The gunner and his red coat—Scene on landing—The only fire-arm—Who are you, and where do you come from?—The messenger and his letter's fate—Kim-Tschai-heuni, governor of Kangwha, on board the "Emperor"—Our conversation—Resolve to stay where we are, as the steamer can proceed no further—Thirty days asked, and four days allowed to the Government to send down envoys—Great alarm of the natives while the "Emperor" is in motion—Friendly intercourse with the officials and the people—How the guard-boats were got rid of—First walk on shore—The three branches of the Kangkiang—Magnificent scenery—The Cox-comb and Funnel mountains—Heavy squalls in the river—Fresh provisions sent off by the governor of Kangwha—The thievish boatman—His severe punishment on being detected—Our visitors—The merchant of Sunto and his pretty boy—Conversation with the former—Music on board—Tschai-heuni's letter—Low state of temperature—Ni-Eung-ini, the first envoy, arrives from Saoŭl—Opening of negotiations—That bad boy in Pekin—The envoy returns to the capital—Long excursion into the country—A Corean supper in our honour—Saki—A noisy party—Arrival of Pang-Ou-Seu and Ni-Eung-ini, first and second Government envoys—Presents of the latter from Saoul—Negotiations renewed—I am again asked to get a letter from the Emperor of China to give permission to open the country—My reply—The case of the missionaries mentioned—The negotiations with the Government finally broken off—The envoys take leave—Departure of the "Emperor" to China.

"I AM glad to see you back safe, for I confess I was not a little afraid I should have to send your coffin

after you"—with this characteristic greeting I was received by Mr. Whittall when I first saw him again after my return from Corea in the "Rona."

"To save you the trouble I will take one with me the next time I go over," I replied, "though to tell you the truth, I do not think there will be any necessity to carry such a piece of furniture with me."

"You don't mean to say you intend returning there, after having got safe out of the lion's den this time?" he asked.

"Indeed I do. And what is more, I hope you will not now withdraw from the enterprise, and assist me to carry through, if possible, what has been commenced under apparently not unfavourable auspices." I expressed my firm conviction that I should succeed in discovering the river leading to the capital of the country on a second visit, which would enable me to enter into direct communication with the Corean Government. If a favourable result of the negotiations was to be obtained at all, this could only be effected there, and I was fully determined not to return without having tried at head-quarters what friendly representations could do. And it was finally settled that I should have my own way as soon as a suitable steamer was to be found, which was to be fitted out for the special objects of this second expedition.

Matters looked decidedly worse, when the news of the murder of the French missionaries in Corea

reached us shortly after by way of Chefoo, to which place it had been brought by fishing-boats, and which had occurred just about the time of my visit in the "Rona." An explanation was now also given for the evident embarrassment of the old district governor, Ta-wha, at our first meeting, and before he had learned the object of our visit. I was no longer puzzled at his unwonted alarm when I told him I had resolved to remain on shore, and at the eagerness with which he tried to dissuade me from my purpose.

The news just received did not however deter me. My first visit had convinced me of the general desire, shared by all classes of the population, to have the barrier removed which separated the country from the outer world, and it was no unreasonable hope to expect that the Government would give way at last to this desire, and give up the policy of seclusion so long pursued. It is true that at the time I was not aware of the peculiar political state of the country, and of the character of the regent, and it was only in the course of my voyage that I was able to obtain full information on this subject.

Some time elapsed before a suitable vessel could be found. The main consideration was to get a steamer with as small a draft as possible, but still of sufficient size and power to stand the several days' crossing to the Corean coast. By a fortunate chance, a steamer answering all these requirements

was offered for sale and acquired. This was the "Emperor," a paddle boat of about 250 tons' burthen, with a strong engine, and drawing only seven feet of water when laden. She had been intended more for river navigation than for sea voyages of long duration, and we could not look for a fast passage, as her speed could not but be impeded by the great load of coal and provisions we had to take on board for the voyage; but under the circumstances, and as steam vessels of any size were rather rare at that time in China, this was a matter of less moment than it might have been otherwise.

A hurricane-deck fore and aft was laid to give us more room, with a good-sized cabin on it intended for the captain's use, which I shared, so as to leave the very small saloon below the main deck for the use of the Chinese interpreters, &c., who were to accompany me. The room between the main and hurricane-deck astern had been closed in and been converted into a sufficiently large dining and reception saloon.

It took some time before the fitting out of the "Emperor" was completed and a good crew for the voyage had been got together. She was commanded by a very intelligent man, Captain James, ably assisted by his chief officer Mr. Parker. Her crew consisted, besides the second-officer and gunner, of two engineers and fifteen sailors, Manillamen and Chinese. Including four Chinese merchants and interpreters,

who accompanied the expedition, the whole complement of the vessel comprised six Europeans and nineteen natives.

Our armament was by no means a brilliant one, as we only carried one nine-pounder and a few small swivel-guns—the latter on the hurricane deck. Another large gun, which we were to have taken on board, had to be left behind as there was not sufficient room to work it. As it happened, we were quite as well without it, for by an unfortunate oversight, which was only found out after our departure and when too late to repair it, our powder supply for the larger guns had not been sent on board at all, and we could only scrape together three full charges for our big nine-pounder. Luckily enough there was a sufficient supply of cartridges for our small arms and revolvers; besides which we carried a number of lances and cutlasses for our defence.

We crossed without accident, favoured by fine weather, that part of the China Sea which runs between Shanghai and Van Diemen's Straits, which may justly be called the Black Sea on account of the intensive blackish colour of the water, and passed Modeste Island, the southernmost of the islands of the Corean Archipelago, on the fourth day after our departure. The next day we approached the mainland closely, and ran through the narrow but deep channel between the same and Chassériau bank into the Archipelago Prince-Impérial. On this occasion we could overlook, during the ebb-tide, the enormous

extent of this bank, and of the other shoals near it. Excepting a few places where deep-water channels had been formed, the sea had completely receded, and for miles and miles round, as far as the eye could see, there was nothing but one vast desert of sand. As none of the persons on board had been in the "Rona" during the last voyage, I wished to fix our exact position by some of the prominent shore-marks which I had then noticed, and towards dusk we steamed into Caroline Bay, where I landed with the captain. Having ascertained that our course was correct, I was just about to return to the boat, when a good many of the natives, who appeared not a little surprised at my return, came down to bid me a friendly welcome; but as it grew too dark we could not accept their invitation to stay, and returned on board the steamer at anchor at the entrance of the bay. As Prince Jérome Gulf was not far out of the way, I determined to run into the same to learn from the officials, with whom we had communicated during the "Rona's" visit, something about the disposition of the ruling powers, and to obtain, if possible, a pilot before we proceeded farther. I knew that the chance of getting one was very slight indeed, but if there was any at all, it was only in the place where I was already known, and had entered into friendly relations with the natives. It was of course out of the question to reopen negotiations with the local authorities, as I had learned enough to know

that they could not forward my purpose in the least, even if inclined to do so.

Above Deception Bay the coast recedes in an easterly direction, and forms a very large gulf some seventy miles long and fifteen miles deep, with innumerable islands, some of which are of very considerable size. The southern portion of this gulf is taken up by the Archipelago Prince Impérial, its northern part by that of Marie Fortunée, and the central one, stretching out to the west, by that of the Impératrice. From the south point of the gulf the coast runs nearly due east, and branches off into the Gulf Prince Jérome, which again divides into nine branches at its entrance, the greater number of which, however, extend only a few miles inland. The largest of these inlets has a length of at least thirty miles, the next one in size was the one visited by the "Rona." All these branches are only navigable a few miles from their entrance for vessels of small draught, and but once a month during spring tides they have a depth of three feet at the highest. When we had run into the "Rona" branch some months ago, we knew nothing of the existence of the other inlets, and had chosen the first that appeared practicable. I remembered well a small peculiarly shaped rocky island at its entrance; but it was rather difficult, notwithstanding, to determine which was the correct one, as we had to find our way through a great many little islands and rocks looking much alike. We got

more than once ashore during our search, which lasted many hours. At last we were on the right track, and to make sure I landed at the foot of a wooded hill, which was crowded by natives. I had hardly set my foot on shore, when a great many of these rushed down the hill, and ran up to me greatly astonished, and to all appearance much delighted; nor was I less pleased when I recognized most of them as old acquaintances from my former voyage. The good people seemed really pleased to see me return, and told me that old Ta-wha was still at Heimi, and that I should see him soon. My supply of cigars was quickly divided amongst them, and I left them discoursing eagerly upon the great news of my reappearance.

Proceeding on our way early next morning we soon ran upon a sand-bank and had to wait for the flood tide to get off again. The news of our arrival must have spread like wildfire all over the neighbourhood, for we were soon surrounded by a whole fleet of boats with numberless occupants, who all wished to come on board—but we were not inclined to receive visitors while hard and fast ashore and busily employed to get off again. But some, more forward and ill-mannered than the rest, who tried to get on board notwithstanding, were speedily sent back into their boats and roundly abused by their friends into the bargain. Having at last got off we steamed into the Heimi branch of the gulf and anchored about six miles

from its mouth. I at once despatched a letter to Tawhai announcing my arrival, with a request to come on board as speedily as possible. Strange enough but very few natives showed themselves on the shore during the rest of the day. The next morning came and there was yet no sign of the approach of the district governor. I then sent a second letter telling him that unless he arrived by a certain hour I should not wait any longer but come to him myself, and this had immediate effect. A few hours later the usual preparations were seen to be made on the hill opposite our anchorage, and the sound of trumpets and of bugles in the distance announced his approach. He embarked with his suite in a large native boat which had been sent down, and came on board supported by two of his followers; his health did not appear to have improved since our last meeting, and he looked even more decrepit than some months ago. Evidently somewhat embarrassed, in the uncertainty how far I had knowledge of what had happened,[1] he came up to me, but appeared much relieved when I expressed neither by words nor looks that I was aware of what had occurred. He seemed overjoyed at seeing me again, though in his heart of hearts he may have wished me a thousand miles away. His finely cut, quite European, features beamed with benevolence and pleasure, and one was almost

[1] The murder of the French missionaries.

tempted to believe in the sincerity of his expressions of love and good-will. Nor do I doubt but that he was personally well and favourably inclined to me—indeed there was no reason why he should not have been so after the previous friendly intercourse between us, and the treatment he had received on board the "Rona." But with him and all his colleagues the fear of the Government and of the responsibility which they incurred outweighed all personal feelings and considerations, and on this account he viewed this second visit as a bore, of which he wished to rid himself as quickly and as politely as he could. "Pressing official business had prevented his accepting my invitation sooner," he said, "otherwise he should not have lost a moment in coming down to welcome me. His feelings towards me were unchanged ever since our friendly interviews during my former visit had convinced him of my kind intentions with regard to the country."

I told him I was glad to hear that. Had anything occurred worth mentioning since we had last met? Had he received any news or any instructions from the Government since my departure?

No, nothing had happened to speak of, no further instructions had reached him; indeed, not expecting my return so soon, he had not asked for any, but he would lose no time now in doing so at once, and he trusted I would patiently wait for the same this time. Would I not? He watched me eagerly while he spoke. No allusion of course being made on

his side to the events that had passed, nor the least sign on my part that I knew anything about them.

"Well, it did not matter much now." My apparent indifference seemed to puzzle him.

I told him I did not mean to wait for an answer here. I had only called to learn the news, and was *en route* to the capital to get a reply there.

This was said very coolly and quite as a matter of course.

He glanced at me somewhat startled and evidently astonished, but said nothing; an incredulous smile hovered about his mouth, as if to say, "That won't go down with me, old fellow; besides, you are not there yet."

I saw that it would be useless to say any more on the subject to him or to ask him for pilots, so the business matter was dropped, which appeared to be a great relief to him. As soon as he saw that the dangerous topic was not likely to be taken up again that day, and being asked to stop to dinner, he lighted up considerably and tried, by redoubled amiability and kindness, to convince me of his unaltered goodwill and of his desire to forward my plans. Indeed, as soon as a few glasses of wine had taken effect upon him and the other officials in his company, they became quite different people, and if they could have been believed, there were no persons more sincere or more eager to secure our friendship for all time to come.

Meanwhile his *chef de police*, who did not appear

to bear me any grudge on account of our last *rencontre*, did the honours on deck in his torn silken robes of state, and kept order amongst the numerous visitors from shore who had favoured us with a call in hopes of getting their share of any drinkables going, in which they were not disappointed. It was late in the evening when Kam-Ta-wha left us, replete with "sweet wine" and fervently expressing his wishes for the continuance of our friendship.

Captain James had gone on shore shortly after daybreak next morning to take observations, but returned immediately after in a state of great excitement. A Corean had come up to him in a mysterious and secret manner, and had delivered to him a letter for me, which he brought at once on board. The letter, written in French, I found to be signed by Monsieur Ridel, one of the three French missionaries who had escaped the fury of the regent, and who, with his unfortunate companions, had now been hunted for months by his officers all over the country. They had been obliged to hide in the mountains, woods, and caverns, and had miserably sustained their lives by the scanty supply of food which compassionate natives secretly contrived to furnish them with. When I looked up, after having perused the letter, I observed two or three natives at some distance from each other, walking up and down opposite our anchorage on the shore, who made the sign of the cross when they saw that I had remarked them. I wrote an answer to

Monsieur Ridel on the spot, promising to render him and his companions any assistance within my power, and offering them as a matter of course a refuge on board our steamer. I informed them at the same time of my plan to penetrate as near as possible to the capital, as soon as we had found the river leading to the same, and gave them a sketch of the route I proposed to follow; as the news of our whereabouts spread rapidly enough through the country, they would not find any great difficulty in being directed by friendly natives to the spot where we happened to be. Monsieur Ridel's letter was as follows:—

"SIR,—The Regent of Corea has caused the execution of nine Frenchmen (two bishops and seven missionaries). Three of us are hidden in the mountains, where however we shall, no doubt, soon be discovered and be taken prisoners. The Government has sworn vengeance to all Europeans, and threatens to kill all who dare to enter its territory. A great persecution against all Christians is taking place. I understand that foreign vessels are on the west coast, and I take the chance to despatch this letter, with the fervent prayer to help us and to communicate the news of our misfortunes to Monsieur Libois, provicar of the foreign mission. The cause of the persecution is the appearance of Russian men-of-war on the east coast. If your vessel should depart without rendering us prompt help, our unfortunate position will be worse than before. The

regent cannot dispose of any force, and everybody in the country expects a war with the Europeans. Asking you once more to take pity on our misery, I remain with the assurance of my regard,

"F. RIDEL,

"*Miss. Apost.*"

This letter was already several months old when it came into my hands, and had been written when the news of the "Rona's" visit had spread in the country. Ever since, the unfortunate men had lived the lives of hunted beasts.

As soon as my answer was written I set off for the shore, where I was anxiously awaited by the messengers. They were overjoyed at having at last been able to deliver the letter to its address, and made themselves known as Corean Christians. Unfortunately however, my appearance on shore had attracted a great crowd, whose idle though not ill-intentioned curiosity it was difficult to keep off without creating suspicion against the converts, who were strangers in this part of the country, and though I had much wished to take them on board at once to get further details from them, I desisted at their request on account of the risk they might run. I managed though, with the assistance of the boat's crew to keep the crowd at a distance while I entered into a short conversation with these men and delivered the answer I had written to Monsieur Ridel's letter, while one of them sat down in a spot shel-

tered from the looks of the people, and wrote down the following: "Ego Philippus, alumnus coreensis, secundum pactum cum duobus nautis heri ante mediam noctem veni in hunc destinatum locum et tota nocte hic vigilavimus, in hac nocte post tenebras navicula veniret optimum erit, nunc etiam hic sumus .

It was certainly a remarkable sight to see this poor, rough-looking and worn out native sit down and indite Latin letters as if he had done nothing else all his lifetime. I told him that the ship's boat would be waiting for them at eight o'clock in the evening, and he promised to be punctual at the appointment; now, however, they were anxious to withdraw from the inquisitive looks and questions of the people around us, so I watched until I saw them off safe before I myself returned to the steamer.

Punctually at the hour fixed they were again on the spot, and they were soon safe and sound on board the steamer. There were three of them, a fourth had started back already with my reply to the fugitive missionaries, who were some days' journey distant in the interior. It is almost impossible to describe the joy and the happiness of these poor people to find themselves, at least for a time, sur-

[1] I, Philippus, a Corean disciple, as agreed upon, arrived in this place with two sailors before midnight yesterday, and we have watched here all night. It would be well if a small boat could come to-night after dark to fetch us, and we shall also then be here.

rounded by friendly and sympathizing faces, and they hardly knew how to express their gratitude and thankfulness. And I must say it was a sight worth seeing to observe our lascar sailors, and all other hands on board rush forward to meet them and shake hands with them—it was a spontaneous tribute offered to the courage and disinterested conduct of these brave fellows.

For forty-eight hours they had not tasted a morsel of food; being strangers in the neighbourhood, they had not dared to ask for anything for fear of being discovered by the authorities. How they did pitch into the viands which were put before them! When their hunger was somewhat appeased they found time to give me a full and detailed account of everything that had occurred since my last visit and of the general state of the country. It appeared, that there were only two of the three missionaries left behind at present,[1] who lived concealed, some three days' journey from the coast, in company with some of their catechists, in wild and inaccessible mountain passes. Thither they had fled, travelling at night only, and threatened by all sorts of dangers, from the place where they had been stationed when the persecution suddenly broke out. And here they were waiting for a favourable opportunity to escape from the fury of the Tai-ouen-koun.[2] Their position was a very precarious one. Having

[1] Messrs. Féron and Calais.

[2] Tai-ouen-koun, or Tai-wangoon, the official title of the regent.

successfully evaded the pursuit of the spies who tracked them continually, they were at night constantly in danger of being attacked by wild beasts, of which there are plenty in these parts—royal tigers of the largest size being the most dangerous to be feared.[1]

Monsieur Ridel himself, with the consent of his companions, had managed to get down safely to the coast before means had been found to deliver his letter into my hands, and, with the assistance of some natives, had succeeded in finding a conveyance which brought him to Chefoo. The native craft, which had been placed at his disposal for the purpose, was owned by an unconverted Corean, who had gladly assisted him in his flight, "on purpose," as he had expressly stated, "that the events in the country, and the intolerable oppression under which it was suffering, might be made known to the world, with the hope and expectation that something would be done to deliver the Corean people from the yoke which it had to bear."

I much regretted to learn that already at the time of my visit in the "Rona," several native

[1] Mons. Féron told me afterwards that he and his companions, after a long and wearysome march at night, had, tired to death, taken refuge on one occasion at daybreak in a well-concealed place, where they hoped to be secure and to find the necessary repose. To their utmost consternation however, they soon discovered that they had got into the lair of a tiger—the beast itself was away, probably in search of food, while its numerous growling brood had been left behind in the lair.

Christians had vainly tried to get near me, to inform me of what was going on and to appeal for assistance for the imprisoned missionaries. Excessive fear of their ultimate discovery had kept them at the time from delivering their message, and I felt grieved and vexed at the thought that I had thus been prevented, when a timely and energetic intercession might have saved their lives, to act in their behalf.

The attachment, devotion, and self-sacrifice of the native Christians dispersed all over the district, who on the slightest ground for suspicion exposed themselves to a sure and tormenting death, had rendered it possible to the survivors to escape discovery up to the present. And really, these three rough-looking men, who so courageously braved all sorts of dangers and death itself, to save their teachers from the fate which threatened them, deserved all praise for their self-devotion. Their plain and unadorned tale, and the description of the sufferings which they had undergone to penetrate to us through a country where they had neither friends nor acquaintances, made an impression hardly to be described by me. Every one of the listeners, and to their honour be it recorded, even my Chinese friends and interpreters, got worked into such a pitch of excitement and enthusiasm, that they loudly uttered their sense of admiration of their conduct, and tried to give expression to their overflowing feeling by pressing upon them all kinds of small presents.

They felt and admitted, that such self-denial was a thing rare with their own countrymen.

From these natives, who knew they could talk now without fear or restraint, I obtained an accurate and detailed account of the present state of affairs in the country, and learned something about the terrorism which reigned there. The persecution against the missionaries and the native converts had broken out quite suddenly and unexpectedly, and without the least palpable reason appearing or being given for it. It had then also been extended against all those who, though they had nothing whatever to do with the religious movement, or had given cause to suspect them on this account, were considered likely to be dissatisfied with the present rule. It was a *coup d'état* to crush all discontent in the bud and to prevent a general rising against the abhorred Government of the Taiouen-koon and his satellites. The names of two or three members of the higher nobility were mentioned, who were currently reported in the country as having been the primary movers in the whole affair. They had succeeded to gain the ear of their master, who was but too willing to listen to their insinuations. These persons were said to have represented to him, that the only means to maintain himself in power was by adopting at once, without delay or warning, measures of the most severe and rigorous description, and above all that it would be necessary to give such a lesson to the Europeans which

would once and for all cure them of the desire to become more intimately acquainted with the country.

On receiving the accounts of these men, I seriously considered within myself, whether it would not be my duty to try and rescue the unfortunate men in the interior by proceeding there personally. If I had had the "Rona's" crew, I should not have hesitated a moment, and started off at once with a strong escort; but matters were now quite different. Notwithstanding the discouraging news just received, I was no more afraid now of any danger to myself than formerly, when I had walked, almost alone, for many miles into the country; still I could not think of undertaking so serious a business altogether single-handed, and a couple of lascars would have been the utmost I could now have commanded. Another consideration which I could not well lose sight of was, that by acting upon this impulse, I should place myself at once in a hostile position to the Government, and that the ends of this expedition would be seriously jeopardized thereby, which I was not justified in doing. Still it went against my grain to sit quietly by, while two unfortunate Europeans were in hourly fear of death, some fifty or sixty miles off; and I could not help thinking of the brave American admiral who, forgetting his neutrality at the first unfortunate storm on the Taku forts, with the words, "Blood is thicker than water," manned his boats, and ordered them to assist and

save the wounded of the English fleet. Turning to the Coreans I asked their advice on the matter. They at once and unanimously pronounced themselves strongly against my proposal, on the plea that it would rather be an impediment to their rescue than otherwise, as they would find it easier to escape by travelling alone and unperceived than in the company of foreign dressed people. There was no gainsaying this, and it was decided to abide by the contents of the letter transmitted to the missionaries this morning.[1]

When I informed them of my intention to ascend the river to the capital, and asked if there was a possibility to get a pilot somewhere, one of the men, a sailor by trade, offered his services at once, and promised to conduct our vessel to its destination. I wished him to remain on board altogether, but he asked to be allowed to return on shore to fetch some of his traps he had left there, and it was arranged that he was to be taken on board the next night from the same place where we had met him to-day. Nothing worth noticing happened during the following day, except that a great many

[1] As it will no doubt interest the reader to learn something of the fate of the two missionaries left behind, I may mention here that my reply duly reached them, and that they at once started to join the "Emperor." By some mischance or other they were misdirected as to the whereabouts of the steamer, and missed it; but, ultimately reaching the coast safe, they were fortunate enough to find a native boat to convey them to the China coast, in company with several Corean converts who chose to accompany them.

visitors from all parts of the surrounding country came on board. About nine in the evening I went myself in the steamer's boat to the place appointed, approaching the shore with as little noise as possible. As it was a dark night, it was not until we had come quite close to it, that we observed, to our disappointment, a large native boat with a numerous crew anchored just opposite. It might have been there by mere accident, but it was by no means impossible that the movement on shore during the preceding night had attracted the attention of the authorities and made them watchful. The last view soon appeared almost a certainty, when we discovered a number of men with lanterns walking along the shore, calling to each other from time to time as if they were waiting for something. My hopes to be able to take our friend off under these circumstances fell at once to zero, for he was pretty sure to know what was going on, and not likely to put in an appearance when he perceived the shore so closely watched. Nor was I mistaken in this, for no one showed himself, though we remained at our oars as silently as possible until far into the night. We had at last to give up waiting any longer, and returned to the steamer alone. I decided not to delay our departure any longer, and orders were given to get under weigh in the forenoon. We had still to fill up our supply of water from the mountain springs at the entrance of the gulf, which would take at least a few hours' time.

The "Emperor" was nearly ready to get under weigh next morning, when two of our Coreans, one of them the pilot, appeared on shore, and made signs to be taken off. I went myself to fetch them, and was told that they had been prevented to come last night by the guards set along the shore-line. We were just on the point of starting off, when to our infinite disgust we observed Kam-Ta-wha and his whole suite embark about a mile higher up, to go on board the steamer. He could not have chosen a worse time for his visit. Our departure could not be postponed any longer, and yet it was impossible to take the man with us while the ship was crowded with visitors; though he was safe enough while with us it was equally sure that he would be recognized and put to death without mercy as soon as he was beyond our protection. The poor man asked so piteously to leave him behind, and not to expose him to this danger, that nothing was left but to let him go, after I had pointed out to him where we should anchor during the remainder of the day, in case he should find it possible to join us; but I entertained no hope that we should see him again.

Vexed and annoyed to the utmost by the untimely visit of the district governor, who, there could be little doubt, had only reappeared so quickly on purpose to discover something of our nightly visits on shore, I returned on board the steamer. I was in no humour for a renewed exchange of compliments, or to listen to empty assurances of friendship, so I gave

orders to start the moment I set my foot on deck, complimenting Ta-wha and his followers—who were not a little startled and surprised at the summary way in which this was done—over the side, and we left them looking after us rather puzzled as we steamed away. A few hours' steaming brought us to the spot where we were to take in fresh water from the springs of a large hill. As this took some time, and while the crew were employed in this work, some of the men called my attention to a number of Coreans who appeared on the summit of the hill, and coolly busied themselves in putting up a mat-shed for a guard to watch our doings. I had up to this time ignored and taken no notice of the espionage which had been set upon us before, though this was not quite in accordance with the exuberant protestations of goodwill, &c., but now, still fretting and fuming under the disappointment of having lost the services of our pilot—a feeling which was shared by every soul on board—this was more than any one could quietly stand. Determined to show the authorities that they had counted a little too much upon our patience and goodnature, I climbed the hill with several of our men, and before the astonished and frightened natives had had time to recover from the surprise of our sudden appearance, the guard-house had been taken down, its materials bundled together and put on the backs of our intended guards, and the latter were sent off to their superiors with the message that any further attempt to set spies on us would be

seriously resented. The poor fellows, who could, of course, not be made accountable for executing what they had been ordered to do, disappeared as quickly as they could, evidently pleased at getting off so cheaply themselves. The effect of this demonstration, which no doubt was duly reported, was that this was the last attempt to set spies on us anywhere else, and in the same open manner.

At daybreak next morning, our Corean pilot not having reappeared, we steamed into the Prince Impérial Archipelago to begin our voyage of discovery alone. We were soon amidst numberless islands and reefs, surrounded by vast banks on all sides, and the water getting shallower every minute, we had again to anchor. Captain James and myself then left the steamer to take a survey from the top of one of the high mountains on shore, to mark down the course of a navigable channel. We were rewarded after a tiresome march of some hours by a most magnificent view over the archipelago. Countless large and small islands, in the full bloom of verdure lay resplendent in the morning sun; at our feet, the vast expanse of sand-banks, bared by the ebb tide, stretching for many miles far out to sea, lay before our eyes—but even with the help of our marine glasses no sign of the proximity of a large river was to be discovered. A couple of shepherds, keeping watch over some goats, were unable to give us any information. Returning to the steamer we moved slowly onwards, meeting only a few solitary fishing-

boats on our way, the people in the same pointing northwards when we called out "Saoŭl" to them. These boats, though clumsily built, sailed fast enough, and had a very large crew, some forty men on board, nearly all of whom were completely naked.

A heavy squall compelled us in the evening to seek shelter under the lee of a large island, together with some native boats which anchored close to us. Mr. Parker went with one of the interpreters on board one of them to make inquiries; they returned with the information given by the captain that we were to direct our course to two large islands in the northern part of the Archipelago, in the neighbourhood of which the mouth of a river was said to be. The fishermen sent us a large supply of splendid fish, which we found very acceptable, though I should have preferred the loan of a man to serve as pilot, a request which was not granted. We had made but a few miles the next morning when a furious gale broke out, again forcing us to run for a safe place of anchorage. All day long, and until the following afternoon, it blew with unabated fury, fortunately without doing us any damage.

Towards evening the next day, when the storm had gone down a little, I paid a visit to the island near which we had last anchored. Like nearly all those in this part of the Archipelago, it was hilly and richly wooded, and contained several good-sized and well-peopled villages. The whole of the male

population was quickly on the alert and very friendly. My inquiries as to the direction to be taken to reach the river's mouth were frankly and readily answered, and but for the appearance of the chief official of the place I should have received all the information required. This personage, who had likely been detained so long by the putting on of his state robes, had little in his outward appearance to prepossess one in his favour, and seemed to have no small idea himself of the importance of his position; the people who had been willing enough to answer any questions previously, got quite reticent now and afraid to give any further information. Displaying his writing materials ostentatiously on the ground, he prepared to enter into conversation with me, but finding that his attempts to induce me to enter into colloquy were met by a steady refusal, he got at last evidently disgusted, and, with an ill grace, packed up again all his things. Instead of losing my time with this sulky party I preferred taking a walk round the island, and I was well rewarded by the pretty scenery which opened to the view everywhere. Here we met also with a great many mountain springs of clear and refreshing water. Maize, and all kinds of vegetables, grew plentifully in the fields, which were divided from each other by low hedges. A poor old woman, the only female being we saw, sat behind one of the hedges in a state of utter apathy. She had probably been forgotten when the other women had secreted

themselves in the houses, as soon as our landing became known, and seemed to have made up her mind to meet death at least from our hands. It is to be hoped she recovered from her panic as soon as she saw us pass by without apparently noticing her at all.

Following the course indicated by the fishing-boats we made for the two islands which we were to pass the next morning without however being any more fortunate in our search for the river's mouth. We had already traversed the entire length of the Archipelago, a distance of some eighty miles, and were as far off from a result as before. But this was not the worst of all. As day after day passed by without any prospect of ultimate success, discouragement and dejection took hold of the minds of all persons on board, from the captain downwards, and the general impression was that we were searching for a river which did not exist at all. "It's of no use proceeding any further," was all I got in reply, when I tried to raise Captain James's spirits, "we shall never find the river, if there is one." But my conviction that there was a river, and that we should ultimately find it, was not so easily shaken, and I made up my mind not to give in until it was clearly proved that I was mistaken. Our charts, though the best that were known, turned out to be utterly valueless; we had stood out again into the sea to make the coast further north, but its outline was put down so erroneously, that we were

sailing over firm land for more than twenty-five miles by the charts, while actually we were not even within sight of the coast at the time. And as if everything was to combine against me, the chief engineer reported, that our coals were rapidly decreasing, and that he did not know how long the supply would last. Some alterations made in the boilers previous to our departure, had upset the old calculation of the daily consumption of fuel, and our protracted cruise had made a great hole in the bunkers. It was necessary to settle this point first, before a decision could be taken upon the further course to be pursued, and we finally determined to run for the Tsiatong Islands, in the north-westerly part of the archipelago, to go to anchor there, and to examine how many days longer our supply would last. The islands were sighted in the course of the following day, and, a good anchorage being found five miles to the south, the engineers proceeded at once to examine the state of affairs, and to overhaul the engines.

A day at least was required to do this, and as nothing could be done in the meantime, our able chief officer, Mr. Parker, who alone shared my belief that we could not be far distant from the object of our search, volunteered to go in the steamer's cutter, to survey the coast and the banks surrounding it. Feeling too unwell myself at the time to accompany him, I consented to let him go alone. Some of our best men were selected to man the boat; several

days' provisions, &c., were put into the same, and towards evening everything was got ready for starting.

Mr. Parker's instructions were, to survey the banks which extended from the coast to the Tsiatong group, to explore the navigable channels between these banks, and, finally, by approaching the coast as closely as possible, to look for the mouth of the river, which I felt sure must be somewhere near. In case of success he was to proceed a few miles up its entrance, and then to return to the "Emperor" without delay. His absence was not to exceed thirty-six hours. He carried out his instructions with a praiseworthy energy and judgment, as the result proved, and I shall ever gratefully remember the valuable assistance he rendered under circumstances as unfavourable as possible. It was with a heavy heart that I saw the cutter sheer off from the steamer, for I felt that the turning-point had now arrived, and that this attempt must finally decide the fate of the expedition. Indeed my position had not been an over pleasant one for some time past. Captain James, generally so energetic, had lost all his spirits, and pressed me hard to give orders to return; and though I had hitherto steadfastly refused, I knew that it had at last to come to this, if my hope in the success of our cutter's errand was foiled, or if it were proved by the examination that our stock of coals was not sufficient for a longer voyage. In this case there were only two alter-

natives left,—either to return to Shanghae without having gained any result at all, or to run over to Chefoo to replenish our bunkers,—which was not an altogether pleasant prospect, considering that we might have to pay 5*l.* or 6*l.* for a ton of coal there. Everything looked as gloomy as possible at the moment, and the inactivity to which I was condemned while awaiting the issue, produced a state of feverish excitement and anxiety.

As agreed upon, we fired a good many rockets during the night, but no answer was received from the boat.

How heavily and slowly passed the hours of the following day! One load was at last taken from my mind; in the afternoon the chief engineer brought the glad report, that our coals would last for nine or ten days more under full steam; so this point was set at rest, for what could not be done in all this time, if luck favoured our search at last? But as the night wore on, and I walked the deck restlessly hour after hour, without any sign from our cutter, which was to be back by daybreak at latest, I confess even I felt my hopes sink within me more and more. The rising sun found every soul on deck and on the look-out, but there was no sign of a sail within sight when several hours had passed over the time fixed for the cutter's return; the excitement rose nearly to fever heat. At last, towards noon, when I had just left the deck for a moment, a ringing cheer from all hands made me rush back

again, and there, thank God, the white sail of the boat became visible! The belief that Mr. Parker and his brave companions were safe, made us forget the ends of their mission for a moment, but of course the general expectation soon turned again to the news we were to receive. Another long and wearisome hour went by before the cutter came within hail, but all pain and trouble was forgotten, when a loud cheer from the boat's crew and the words "The river" reached us. And so it turned out, from the report which Mr. Parker gave us when he had returned on board. The first object of the expedition was gained, and I had the satisfaction to learn that I had not been misled in the hope to be near the same. The mouth of a large river had been found, which could be no other than the Kang-kiang. The chief officer reported, that he had anchored close to some fishing-boats during the night after leaving us, and that the captain of one of these boats had not only given him a sketch of the position and extent of all the banks around, but had provided him with directions so clear and complete, that by following them he had had no difficulty in gaining the entrance of the river itself. When he had made sure of this, he had immediately turned back, not to keep us any longer in suspense.

The good news had imparted fresh spirit to every one; gloom and sluggishness disappeared as if by magic, and gave place to bustle and activity, preparatory to an immediate start. As

steam had been ordered as soon as our cutter came in sight, we were soon ready to leave our anchorage, which was about fifteen miles northward of the newly discovered entrance; and, skirting the outlines of the banks, we rounded a few hours later the first island leading into the Kang-kiang, which was called Lundy Island, and made right for another sharp-pointed island, which was named Beacon Hill, on account of its remarkable form. The channel, varying from one-half to one-and-a-half miles in

BEACON-HILL ISLAND. ENTRANCE OF KANG-KIANG RIVER.

width, was hedged in on both sides by banks. We had thus far made our way safely, when towards dusk a heavy squall compelled us to stop and anchor, together with a great number of fishing-boats which had run in from sea. I went on board several of these boats, each of which had a crew of from thirty to fifty men, hardly a man of them having a vestige of clothing. These boats had no deck, but only planks across; the hold was filled with sea-water, into which the fish caught were thrown, and the people were busily employed to haul up the latter and to sort them. They offered me some, but both

men and fish looked so uninviting, that I declined the offer with thanks. They all affirmed, however, this to be the Kang-kiang, and that we were on the right route to Saoŭl.

OLGA ISLAND. MOUTH OF KANG-KIANG RIVER.

Before anything stirred on board the boats at daylight next morning, we were again under weigh, steaming slowly up the river. The river-bed narrows considerably as soon as Beacon Hill Island has been passed, and the northern shore of the mainland

GERTRUDE ISLAND ENTRANCE OF KANG-KIANG RIVER.

becomes first visible, its extreme point projecting sharply, Olga, Gertrude and Concession Islands bordering the river on the opposite shore. As the channel shifts very frequently and suddenly, and sunken reefs and banks had to be avoided, we could

only proceed with great caution and very slowly. Steaming now close along the shore, a varied and beautiful scenery developed itself to our sight; pretty, well-cultivated valleys, changing with thickly-wooded hills, running down in steep precipitous rocky masses to the water's edge, while the high summits of the mountain ranges towered in the background. Many large and small hamlets and villages are on the main shore, showing signs of much life and activity, their inhabitants crowding to the shore and up the hill-sides, to gaze at the foreign vessel moving up the river without a sail. The whole country seemed to be alive and stirring of a sudden, thousands upon thousands flocked together from all sides; their white garments, the highly picturesque scenery of the river shore, in the first glow of a fine, clear summer morning, all combined to make it a sight never to be forgotten.

For several hours we steamed on without accident, until the sudden shallowness of the channel compelled us to lower our boats to show the way with the lead, notwithstanding which we found ourselves firmly aground on a bank about one o'clock, just opposite the south point of Kangwha Island, and facing the first fort which had come in view. A great bight is formed at this spot in the river, which was called Emperor Basin; a high and steep rock rises out of the water in the middle of the fairway, full twenty feet at high tide (Ailsa Craig). We managed luckily to get off the bank after a little while, and

proceeded slowly on as far as Ailsa Craig, where we stopped in very deep water, while I went ahead in one of our boats with Mr. Parker. We had to contend against a very strong tide running nearly seven knots, and it took us above an hour to reach a place on the river shore on which we could effect a landing. At last we managed to do so, on a rocky plateau, which was thronged by natives, who came forward in a very friendly manner to help us out of the boat, and accompanied us to the top of the high hill, at the foot of which we had landed, from which we had a splendid view of the country round and of the windings of the river. A large town extended to the foot of the hill, which the Coreans called Kiautong. Cigars, matches, and the loan of our marine-glasses, which wandered from hand to hand, quickly gained us the goodwill of the natives, who freely answered our inquiries as to the direction to take to Saoul, though the accounts as to the distance to that place varied very much. Some of the people were evidently desirous to give us all the information they could, but they seemed afraid of the others, to whom they slily pointed. We had remained some time in the midst of these people, when a great commotion became observable in the city at our feet; boats were manned and got ready, and we saw the chief district officer being hurriedly carried in his sedan to the shore, accompanied by a large retinue of officials and soldiers. Seeing him start, we hurried down to our boat, fancying that he would

go on board the steamer; but instead of doing so he had made his way straight to the plateau on which we had landed. A rather exciting scene now took place. The officer's large boat had just arrived when I got down to the foot of the hill, but he had such a villainous and repulsive look, that I declined at once his offer to communicate with him, and gave orders to our crew to return to the "Emperor." Enraged at my refusal to listen to him, he ordered some of his soldiers, armed with three-pronged lances, looking like Neptune's trident, to retain our gig, but when the most daring made a show of doing this, our uplifted oars descended so quickly and vigorously on their backs, that they retreated faster than they had come, and did not repeat the attempt. Seeing our revolvers pointed at his head, the fellow got cowed, and sulkily assented to follow me to the "Emperor;" where I allowed only himself and two of his secretaries to come on board, and refused admission to any more of his retinue. He was shown to the hurricane deck, where I joined him after a while. His face was certainly the most malignant and sinister-looking I had yet seen in the country, and as there was no mistaking his hostile feeling, he was treated accordingly, and without the least ceremony. He declared himself to be the highest officer of the district of Kiautong, and tried his utmost to induce me to turn back. The following conversation took place between us.

"What is the name of this river?"

"I don't know. It has no name at all."

"Do you mean to say, that you do not know this to be the Kang-kiang?"

"No, it is not the Kang-kiang River; that river is in another part of the country altogether."

"Then we are not on the route to Saoŭl?"

"No, you are altogether mistaken in your way; you will not reach Saoŭl proceeding by this route."

"How far distant is Saoŭl from this place?"

"Oh, many thousand li; besides, you cannot go any farther, as the water will immediately become so shallow, that the smallest boats find it difficult to navigate the river higher up. And then your vessel might get lost, and that would be bad."

"Indeed, but we are not afraid of losing the vessel; if this is not the Kang-kiang, as others say, —and as you no doubt speak the truth, they must be mistaken,—we must take our chance, for you see we do not intend to turn back."

"But you really had better return, you will never get to Saoŭl this way. Besides, foreigners have never dared to come here before."

"Well, then we are the first who have dared to do so; and what is more, who will dare to proceed. Have you any more to say?"

"No, but I can only tell you, this is not the river you believe it to be."

"So much the worse for us; but I have made up my mind to go up this river, and I am sorry you will find me too obstinate to follow your counsel."

All this time, we of course steamed on without stopping, while this gentleman uttered his lies in the coolest and most imperturbable manner. Observing that all he said and tried had no effect whatever, he became fidgetty and uneasy, and remained deeply cogitating. At this stage of the conversation, one of our men, who had been ashore with me, came up and told me that a Corean, who had been particularly friendly and communicative when we landed, was astern in a small boat, making mysterious signs for admittance. I had the man taken on board through one of the stern windows, and went down to see him, leaving our sinister visitor alone to his ruminations, in a most unenviable state of mind. I was surprised at the daring of the man, who ventured near us at great personal risk, while the boat with the official's suite was alongside, and still more, when he said he had come on purpose to warn us of him, as he was a "bad man," and wished to give us the information which the presence of the crowd had prevented him from giving before. A few glasses of wine made him still more loquacious, and I learned from him that we were no more than fifty miles from Saoŭl, and that all the people were glad foreigners had at last found their way there. Not wishing to expose the man any longer to danger, he left the ship by the same way he had entered, and seeing him off safe and without having been observed, I returned to the deck, where our visitor and his two companions still sat, rather

sulky and displeased at having been left to themselves in so unceremonious a manner. The man was again about to begin in the former style, when I told him that I felt very sorry to have to deprive myself of his agreeable presence after so short an acquaintance, but that I must request him to step into his barge at once, as we wished to go on faster. He looked very grim and ferocious when he found "love's labour lost," and all his lies told for nothing. The blacker he looked, the more benignantly I smiled upon him, as I handed him over the side into his boat, with a parting blessing for his future welfare. He appeared most vexed when he saw that his grim looks had made so little impression upon us, that we could even laugh at them; and I much doubt that it was a blessing, or even a wish for a prosperous voyage, which he uttered, when we cast his barge off at parting, and steamed lustily ahead. He stood erect in his boat, and kept staring after us for a long while, but he was soon left far behind, and the last of him we saw was that his boat was taken by the strong current to the Kangwha shore. Thus ended the episode of Kiautong, the only rencontre I have ever had with a Corean official which was unpleasant.

As our progress had been a little retarded by this visit, and the afternoon had worn on, we now pushed on as much as possible, to make up for lost time before evening. Above Ailsa Craig the Kang-kiang takes a sudden turn to the west and narrows con-

siderably, the channel running first along the eastern, and afterwards on the western shore. We passed a very dangerous place several miles above Kiautong, a ledge of reefs right in the middle of the river, barely covered at ebb-tide; this ledge consists of four separate pointed rocks, which we called the Barrier Rocks. This is the most dangerous and treacherous spot in the river, and ships could easily come to grief here, when this reef is covered, at high water; there is, however, a safe channel, deep enough for vessels of large size, between these rocks and the main shore. Above this reef the channel runs over to the Kangwha side, and continues close to the same for a long stretch. The number of forts increases here, and we passed one nearly every ten minutes. These forts are built very strongly of huge square stones, but now they are all more or less dilapidated, and are covered with moss and brush-wood. Apparently, they have not been kept in a state

TABLE OR TOWER MOUNT.

of defence for many years past, for there were neither guns in the battlements nor any garrison

within the walls; and they have probably never been looked after since they were put out of use at the end of the 17th century, at the conclusion of the Japanese wars. The shore, up to this point low and uninteresting on this side, gradually gets steeper and more hilly, and the summits of the large mountain-ridges to the back become visible; one of the highest of which, the Table Mountain, is some 3000 to 4000 feet high.

OLD DISMANTLED FORT. BANKS OF THE KANG-KIANG RIVER.

When darkness came on, we anchored just in front of one of the deserted forts. Captain James and myself went a few miles further up the river in our boat to reconnoitre, and visited one of the forts, where we only found two or three watchmen, but

not a vestige of any armament. Nothing happened during the night, and daylight found us again under weigh, running close in shore, which now presented a very pretty and varying scenery, with many houses on the banks. As we advanced, the scene became more animated; large groups collected and tried to follow us, and there were signs that we were approaching a town of some magnitude. About eight o'clock a long wall became visible, which ran down nearly to the water's edge from the top of a very

TWO-TREE HILL, ISLAND OF KANGWHA.

high hill, with a massive gateway half way up. The wall appeared to be some miles long, and ran up the back of a hill, distinguished by a watch-tower, flanked on each side by a gigantic tree.[1] It was clear that

[1] The gateway above mentioned formed the first point of attack during Admiral Roze's expedition; it was easily taken, as the Coreans ran away when the French appeared. The hill, which was a splendid landmark at the time, had been called by us the "Two-tree Hill." I heard afterwards that the French had felled the trees and destroyed the watch-tower; at all events, I found on a later visit only the ruins of the tower standing, and the hill

this wall was meant to protect a place of importance. The people on board fully believed that we were already close to Saoŭl, but I myself did not share their hope to be so near our destination, although the enormous concourse of people on shore, and the great number of boats which enlivened the scene, seemed to speak for the probability of their expectation. A turning of the river did not bring us in view of the town itself, which was hidden behind the nearest hill, but the plain which lay between it and the shore was filled by such a crowd as I had not yet seen together in the country. There must have been many thousands at the least, all staring at the strange appearance of the first foreign steamer which had ever been in these parts. Apart from the great crowd, and forming a large group by themselves, stood a number of officials of all grades, surrounded by a respectable body-guard of flag-bearers, and soldiers dressed in their blue uniform, who seemed to have hurried to this spot to await our arrival.

As it was not likely any of the officers would come on board by themselves, and as I was naturally anxious to know where we were and with whom we had to do, I resolved to go on shore at once, Captain James consenting to accompany me. To appear with all the dignity required on so momentous an occasion, we hurriedly put our gunner into an old

deprived of the ornament of the two splendid trees which had been there before.

red hunting-coat of the captain's, though the man himself did not much relish the joke, and was somewhat scared, as he was to be our only escort and *sauvegarde*. Armed with one of our muskets, he at last plucked up sufficient courage to follow us. Half-way to the shore we were met by a petty official in a boat, who waved a paper in his hand, but I took no notice of his demonstration, and we saw him proceed on board, while we went on. Ordering our boatmen to steer straight for the group of officials who were nearest to the shore, while the enormous crowd kept a respectful distance, we landed just in face of them. I confess, though I could not help smiling at the dejected face of our red-coated escort, who evidently was in great trepidation, I was in no mood for joking myself, for I was perfectly well aware of the risk we ran in going up single-handed and unarmed to meet such a crowd, of whose good or bad feelings we knew nothing as yet. I had never before hesitated to walk for twenty or thirty miles into the country, almost the only foreigner, surrounded by large crowds of people, and I cannot say that I ever have had any fear for my personal safety; but then the matter was so far different to the present circumstances, that we had only to do with people naturally good-tempered, whom we could easily make friends with. Here, we were going to meet on their own ground a number of high officials, surrounded by a great number of followers and soldiers, who, however poorly armed,

were more than enough to overpower us without any great difficulty; nor must it be forgotten, that any foreigner daring to land on Corean territory had been threatened with immediate death by the Government. On nearing the shore, we could already perceive the expression of utter astonishment, nay almost of terror, with which our approach was regarded; in fact, the officials looked as if they did not know how to act.

However, there was no time to reflect now; the least sign of fear or hesitation might have been dangerous, and I had lived too long amongst Asiatics not to know that nothing impresses them so much as courage and decision. Walking up quickly to the official, who, to judge from his commanding look, and by the marks of distinction he wore, was the highest in rank,—he was distinguished from the others by a straw-plait hat with a round top, to which an artificially worked silver crane, three inches high, was attached,—and who looked at me as if he was spell-bound all the time, I took his hand, which he let me take unresistingly, and gave it a hearty and friendly shake. Then, putting my hand on his arm, I made him understand that I had come to invite him on board the steamer, and asked him to favour me at once with an interview there. Up to this moment not a sound was heard from the crowd, nor had a word been uttered by any one in the official group, every one standing there mute and silent, in expectation of what was to come.

But it was as if a spell had been broken, when they saw me greet the old gentleman in a manner unmistakably friendly and engaging; their faces brightened up, and I saw that I had won the day. Relaxing into a good-tempered smile, the chief asked whether it would not be better to have a preliminary conversation on the spot, but I politely declined this, and having firmly refused a second appeal to the same point, he agreed, after a short consultation with some of the other officers, to accept my invitation and to come on board without delay. Several large barges were at once got ready, and we waited until the embarkation had taken place.

The soldiers of the escort were armed as poorly as those I had seen at other places; they had not even matchlocks, but only lances and bows, and no swords. One man alone, in the immediate neighbourhood of the chief official, had a peculiarly-shaped kind of fire-arm, and, to all appearance, he was not a little proud of the formidable-looking weapon he held in his arms. The affair looked decidedly clumsy and unwieldy; it consisted of three barrels, soldered together, and joined to a short round butt-end, and had the appearance of a very old-fashioned revolver. The barrels, about one foot and a half long, threw a good-sized gingall-ball, and as the soldier held a burning match in his hand, the weapon had probably been loaded. It must have been of a very venerable age, and to judge from the thick rusty crust which covered it, it may be presumed

that it had only just been taken for the occasion out of some old lumber-room, where it had taken a quiet rest for years. Luckily for the bearer, he had no need to fire it off, for there can be no doubt it would have proved most disastrous to himself in such a case.

When we returned to the shore, to witness the embarkation of our visitors, the people, who had been kept back hitherto, reassured by the cordiality which was observed to have sprung up between the authorities and ourselves, flocked round us in crowds. We were, however, now put sadly into the shade by our red-coated escort, who attracted most of the attention and admiration, much to his discomfort and annoyance. As soon as the barges had left the shore, we hurried back on board, to make some preparations for the reception of our expected guests, who could move only slowly in their clumsy boats.

The messenger, whom we had met on our way to the shore, had boarded the steamer during our absence, and delivered the open letter which he had frantically waved in his hand when we passed him. When translated, it was ascertained to contain a good many questions, Who we were? What we wanted? Where did we come from? and some more of the like nature; and it concluded with the communication that we were in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal residence, that it was no "good custom"[1] we had penetrated thus far, which

[1] So translated by our Chinese interpreters.

was an offence against the laws and habits of the country; the request to turn back being finally added, with the consolatory remark, that we might forward our demands from a "greater distance." Mr. Parker had returned the letter to the bearer without any reply, who retired with it, but soon came back asking for an immediate answer; after the translation of the despatch by our interpreters, the chief officer told the messenger that he had no instructions to reply to such a letter, upon which the man had made off with a very long face.

The main-deck and our dining-saloon had in the meantime been very prettily decorated with flags; the crew, dressed in their best and armed with muskets, cutlasses, and lances, were drawn up in two lines to receive the officers, who at last arrived, and were received at the gangway very solemnly. Their bearing was already much more free and easy, than at our first meeting on shore, and they appeared to appreciate the honours with which they had been received. Our stately nine-pounder, which had been loaded during our absence, attracted considerable attention, but most of the natives gave it rather a wide berth, and could not be induced to touch it.

When the three officers highest in rank had taken their seats in the saloon, I had more leisure to regard them, and to scan their features, which were prepossessing. The principal one, with the crane ornament, who sat next to me, was an old

gentleman of some sixty to seventy years, with a good-natured and open face, and looking much like a well-to-do European gentleman. Here he turned out to be quite a different personage to what he had first appeared on shore, sipping his wine with a pleased smile, and nodding to me in a friendly way, as if to express his satisfaction that he had been mistaken previously in his opinion with regard to us. He was dressed in very rich China silk robes of brown colour, with ditto yellow jacket, the sleeves nearly a yard wide at the wrist. A servant carried his small Japanese sword, and another his staff of office, tied round with ribbons.

After partaking with great relish of a few glasses of wine, the business of the day commenced with the customary formalities of presentation, in which we learned the rank, title, and name of the old gentleman at my side; the first was that of governor of the island of Kangwha, a district of great importance, the two last, Kim-Tschai-Heuni. He then begged to be made acquainted with the cause of our visit. I informed him, that I had come to Corea with the desire to try to enter into friendly relations, and to open commercial intercourse with this country, which had isolated itself so long from the entire world. I expressed the hope, and at the same time my confidence in the wisdom of the Corean Government, that the latter would take into consideration and accept a proposal proffered in a peaceful and amicable spirit, a proposal which it

would have to agree to under any circumstances in due course of time, even though now rejected. And that for this purpose I was now on my way to Saoŭl, to enter into negotiations with the highest authorities on this subject.

His reply, as will be seen from what follows, was very similar, with a little variation only, to that given by Ta-Wha previously at Heimi.

That he personally, and as he understood and believed, the great majority of the people, were all very much desirous to see the barriers removed which had so long separated them from other nations, but that the decision upon so momentous an affair must rest with the Government of the king alone. He would report without delay to the latter, and transmit the demand just placed before him.

On the other hand he urgently begged us not to proceed any further in the steamer, or to go to Saoŭl, from which place we were not far distant now, and there was the less necessity to go to the capital, as negotiations could be conducted with equal facility where we now were.

This request alone would of course not have detained me for a moment from penetrating right up to the capital as originally intended. There were, however, two important reasons which compelled me to alter my plan. In the first instance, we had now only enough coal on board to carry us safely back to Shanghai, and although only fifteen to twenty miles distant from Saoŭl, it was impossible

to say how much time we should need to travel over this distance in a river which required so cautious a navigation. Secondly—and this was still more decisive—we had sent one of our boats ahead some five to ten miles to survey the channel as soon as we had dropped anchor. The boat had returned during the interview, and the report given by the surveying officer turned out to be highly unfavourable. Below the point where we stopped the river was found to become more and more shallow, navigable only in some places at the highest flood, and covered with a multitude of banks and reefs, making the ascent very perilous.

In consequence of the result of this investigation the plan to proceed to Saoŭl with the "Emperor" was abandoned, and making a virtue of necessity, I declared, much to the governor's pleasure, that I should allow myself to be guided by his advice, provided the opening of the negotiations would not be too long delayed. The conversation which followed on this issue was too original not to be given here in extenso.

"Well," I said to Tschai-Heuni, "if I relinquish my plan to go to Saoŭl to please you, how long will it take before the Government can depute some one down here to treat with?"

A long consultation took place between the officials upon this. I expected they would try to put me off much longer than required, even though the distance to Saoŭl was only a few hours.

But the Coreans, apparently thinking, that as I had so easily given in on the main point they could have it all their own way, went beyond all bounds of reason.

Turning to me with a most affable smile, after consulting with his colleagues, Tschai-Heuni replied,

"As you will be so good to wait for envoys of the Government here, I must ask you to wait a month, which time they will require to come down."

This was coming it rather too strong; a month where a couple of days were more than amply sufficient! So I said, very quietly, but in a tone so determined that it had an immediate effect, "Now listen to me. You ask me to wait a month doing nothing, well knowing that I am aware they can be here in a couple of days at latest. But I will give you four days including to-day; if on the morning of the fourth day no envoy has been sent here from Saoŭl I shall at once start, and proceed with the steamer to that place."

Upon which they put their heads together again, and the governor answered,—

"We are of opinion that perhaps it will not be necessary to stipulate for thirty days. If they are here within ten days, will that suit you?"

"No, you have heard what I have said. I shall wait no longer than four days."

"Well then, let it be eight days."

"Not an hour over four."

"But they cannot be here before six days; surely you will consent to wait so long!"

"I shall do no such thing. I have fully made up my mind that four days are more than amply sufficient for the purpose, and I do not intend to wait an hour over that time. However, you can do as you please, but if you do not accept my very reasonable proposal now, there is an end to the matter, and instead of waiting four days, I shall order the steamer to leave for Saoŭl within an hour from this, and you will be responsible for the consequences."

This last threat had the desired effect, and the morning of the fourth day was fixed without any further difficulty as the latest term for the arrival of the Government envoys, Tschai-Heuni himself offering to guarantee their coming by that time. Nor must it be thought that he or his companions looked by any means vexed or ashamed at this result; they had tried to tire us out and had failed, and there was not a word more lost on the subject.

We had just come to this arrangement when an event took place, highly comical and quite unforeseen, which appeared not only to support my last sentence, but also caused an indescribable alarm amongst our visitors. Our place of anchorage had turned out to be a bad one, and Captain James considered it necessary to shift to a spot a few miles further up the river, where we could remain in greater safety. The preparations had been going

on for moving while I was engaged with the officials, and we steamed ahead of a sudden. At the first turning of the paddles the Coreans turned pale, and when a man belonging to their retinue rushed frantically into the saloon with the news that the steamer was going off with all the boats in tow and every soul on board, they were in a complete panic, fearing that we were either going on at once to Saoŭl, or what was still worse, that we intended to put back to sea, taking them all with us. It took no little pains and time to convince them that their fear was utterly groundless, but when we had at last succeeded in making them understand the reason, their alarm was speedily forgotten in the pleasure which they derived from the unaccustomed motion of the steamer. Considering that these people had never, until this morning, seen a steamboat in all their lifetime—perhaps had never before heard of such a thing—it will be understood how greatly they enjoyed the pleasure of being on board one while moving, now that all their fears had passed away, and the high officials even forgot their dignified and stoic bearing for a while. Great was the crowding to the engine-room to see the working of the engines, and loud and general the surprise and admiration at their quiet and regular movement. When, some half-hour later, we had at last reached our new anchorage some miles higher up, the regret that the pleasure had not lasted longer was as general as the alarm previously experienced

had been great. The last rather disagreeable incident of our conversation had been forgotten, and old Tschai-Heuni, and his serious-looking colleagues, had become quite confidential and amiable. The main business of the day having been settled, the conversation, on the return to the saloon, confined itself to an exchange of courtesies, and we had more reason to believe in their sincerity, when the governor and his companions expressed their personal wishes for the success of the negotiations to be opened with the Government envoys for the opening of the country. I had taken care not to appear to know anything of the events which had taken place lately, nor was it likely that any mention of them would come from the other side; indeed, no allusion was made to the present state of affairs, and it would have been quite useless to try to get any information from the officials present, none of whom would have ventured to express his own opinion on the subject for fear of being at once denounced to his superiors.

The rumour of our friendly intercourse with the district authorities appeared soon to have got abroad amongst the people, for our steamer was soon surrounded by a numberless crowd of large and small boats, the inmates of which all begged to be allowed to come on board. Naturally desirous to impress the natives as favorably as possible, the permission was granted, and we had soon a dense crowd thronging all parts of the vessel. Among various musters,

&c., I had brought several gross of small looking-glasses with gilt frames; and the delight of the simple people knew no bounds, when I commenced to distribute a good many of these amongst them. Glass and mirrors are things quite unknown in Corea, and it was highly amusing to observe the child-like pleasure with which everybody regarded his own features in them. As it was impossible to satisfy the demands of all who were on board, the few fortunate owners of such a treasure were pressed on all sides for the loan of the same. Many a Corean belle may have been made happy that evening by seeing her fair features reflected, for the first time, in one of these little mirrors, somewhat indemnified and consoled for the strict habits of the country, which forbade them to come and have a look for themselves at the strangers and their fire-ship.

Old Tschai-Heuni himself appeared to be so well pleased, that he prolonged his stay on board until late in the afternoon, and left several hours after having taken dinner with us in a state of high good humour. The greatest proof of his good-will he gave by the spontaneous offer to send us fowls, vegetables, &c., an offer which was doubly valuable after our short acquaintance, and considering the usual reticence, and the by no means great liberality, of the Corean officials in general.

An incident which happened towards evening proved, however favorably the authorities might be in-

clined to regard us personally, that they had not quite lost sight of their system of espionage, though this was carried on in a different and less perceptible manner than formerly in Heimi. No sheds or guard-houses had been put up here on the hills. Instead of these a number of small boats had been stationed in a row between the "Emperor" and the shore, probably for the double purpose of controlling the stream of visitors as well as ourselves. On account of the numberless fleet of small vessels which crowded the river all day, these boats had passed hitherto altogether unnoticed, and even after our visitors had all left us, and these boats remained, no attention had been paid to them. Going on shore with Mr. Parker, we should have still passed them unheeded, though our suspicions were roused when we saw them anchored at regular intervals in a line; when on nearing them, the guards stationed in them turned out and clamourously wanted our boat to return to the steamer. Glad of the opportunity to free us once for all from this surveillance, the gig went alongside the nearest boat, and jumping on board before the natives had recovered from this sudden attack, the scene suddenly changed. From being noisy and impudent but a moment previously, the boatmen turned as quickly servile and humble. Falling down on their knees they cringingly asked pardon, which was granted on condition that they made off at once, and never showed their faces again. The people in the other boats had hardly

seen what was passing when they hurriedly slipped their anchors, and disappeared as fast as they could, being followed by the natives in the one we had boarded. No further attempt was made to station any other guardships within sight of the "Emperor" during our stay.

There had been a good many lookers-on from shore to this scene, and when we landed I was met by a petty official, who endeavoured to make me forget, by a display of extreme politeness, what had happened. Of course it was only the fault of the men in the boats, whose "over-great zeal," as he tried to make me believe, was alone to blame in the whole affair. Satisfied with the result obtained, I told him that any more "zeal" of the same kind would be very seriously resented in future, as we were not accustomed to have spies set over our doings.

Continuing our walk for a good hour in the valley along the river shore, we ascended at last one of the larger hills, from which a view over the surrounding country could be obtained. To our left extended the fertile plains of Kangwha, for miles covered with innumerable places large and small, bordered in the background by high mountain ranges, the highest tops of which were buried in the clouds. In front, we could follow the manifold windings and turnings of the Kang-kiang, which divided just at our feet in three branches, one of which forming the small and shallow river leading to Saoŭl, the other separating Kangwha from the continent by a narrow channel,

while the main branch continued its course to the north. To our right lay the town of Kangwha in a well-cultivated plain, in peace and tranquillity; distinguished from other places only by the greater number of its buildings. A little below our resting-place were the remnants of two batteries, long since put out of use, their large square stone walls moss-

COCK'S-COMB MOUNTAIN.

grown all over and shaded by fine groups of trees; the inner part of the fortifications now serving as keeping-place for all kinds of agricultural implements, with a small hut for the keeper and his family, who appeared to lead a very idyllic life here.

Huge masses of rocks, opening here and there into deep cuts and ravines, run down steeply to the water's edge on the opposite mainland shore of the river, making the scenery very wild and romantic. These rocks formed the out-runners of the gigantic mountain-ranges, visible far away, the curiously-

shaped tops of the Cockscomb and Funnel Mountains standing out clear and prominent from the others. The solemn tranquillity of the beautiful summer evening, the truly magic light of the setting sun painting the mountain summits in fiery red, while the shades of night descended deeper and deeper into the valleys and plains, all combined to give us a picture of the country in all its magnificent beauty,

FUNNEL OR SUGAR-LOAF HILL.

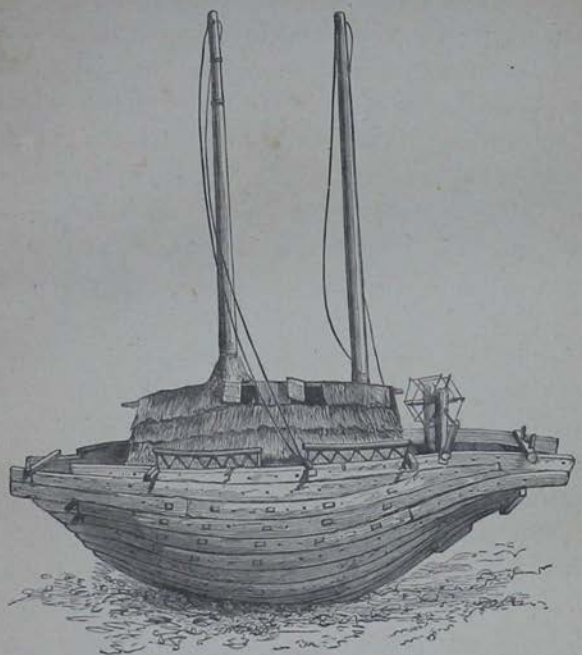
which we were loth to quit, when the growing dusk compelled us at last to think of returning on board our steamer. I had declined the company of the natives in our walk, and had only chosen a few nice looking Corean boys to serve us as guides. Observing, that I was looking out for mountain plants, in the hope of finding some new and unknown species, our little companions soon gathered such a collection together, that we could not carry half of it away with us. I succeeded in bringing some of these plants to China, where they prospered well after-

wards; but I was disappointed in the hope of getting hold of any remarkable or unknown specimen. Of trees, pines and fir-trees predominated; the dwarf-oak was frequent on the hill slopes.

The elder of the large village near the river-side awaited our return to the shore, when starting, to express his thanks for not having entered any of the houses so as not to frighten the people—people in this case of course meant "women;" but as I was fully aware of the Corean custom, which forbids any person to enter another's house without being known to, or invited by, its owner, and also of the strict seclusion in which the women are kept, any attempt to break through this custom on our part would have been ill-timed at the least, and strict orders to this effect had been given not to hurt the feelings of the natives by any undue curiosity.

The weather, which had been very fine up to this time, completely changed the next day. Heavy squalls and rain set in, which prevented our leaving the vessel, and any communication with the shore. Several large junks, crowded with visitors from more distant parts of the country, had arrived early in the morning; but they had to wait patiently until the bad weather had subsided before they could come on board. The storm lulled a little in the afternoon, and Tschai-Heuni, eager to fulfil the promise he had given, sent off a large boat filled with all sorts of vegetables, cucumbers, fowls, eggs, &c., which were very welcome, as we had been without

any for a long time. A quantity of wines, cherry-brandy, sugar, and some other articles thought acceptable to the governor were sent in return, to which was added, much to the amusement of the Coreans, the only sheep we had still on board. The



COAST-TRADER.

unfortunate animal had lately led a very uncomfortable life on board, and I was sure to please the governor by the gift, as sheep are altogether unknown in the country.

During the delivery of these articles the Corean

boatmen, and some of their friends whom they had brought along, were allowed to come on board for a look round, and as all our native visitors had generally been permitted to do so without restriction, no attention was paid to them on this occasion. Suddenly however everybody was roused by the outbreak of an awful hubbub amongst the natives on the hurricane-deck—who had laid hold of one of their countrymen, a boatman, beating him as hard as they could. It appeared that this man, passing by the open windows of the captain's deck cabin, had taken, as he thought unobserved, a silver tea-spoon from the window-sill, and had just about been hiding the same in his sleeve, when he was found out in the act by his own countrymen. The indignation caused amongst them by this attempted abstraction was so great, that we had pains to save the man from being lynched on the spot; and quiet was only restored after he had been transported into the boat, and put under the guard of some of the crew. Though I interceded for the culprit, there was little chance of his escaping summary punishment on shore; for theft is considered one of the blackest crimes in Corea, and punished with extreme severity. To the honour of the Coreans I may state, that this was the only case of thieving committed by any of them, before or after, among the thousands of native visitors whom we let have the free run over our ships during my voyages to the country.

All the following night and the next morning the storm raged afresh, until it at last went down towards noon, the weather then turning again fair. All those people, who had been detained weather-bound on board the junks at anchor near us, were now able to gratify their curiosity by a visit to the "Emperor," and they, with many other persons from the shore, crowded the steamer all day. From Saoŭl, and even from Sunto—the great commercial city of the country—people had come upon receipt of the news of the strange appearance of a steam-ship. Most of them belonged to the better and middle classes, with fine expressive features, and were of a strong and powerful make, and all seemed highly pleased and satisfied at what they saw. One of our visitors, a merchant of Sunto, a tall, handsome man with a splendid beard, had brought his son with him, a pretty little boy eight years old, with auburn hair and blue eyes; and I soon won the good graces of the little chap by presenting him with sundry knick-knacks. The father, a man of very intellectual appearance, who felt much gratified at the favour his little boy had won, opened his heart very frankly on the subject of our visit. He warmly thanked me for the kindness he and all his countrymen had experienced at our hands during their visits to the steamer, which he said they had the more cause to be pleased with, as all sorts of untruths and ill-meaning rumours had lately been spread purposely in the country about foreigners, so that the people might not become

desirous of any intercourse with the same. He stated that the general feeling in the country, notwithstanding all that was said and done to the contrary, was greatly in favour of the abolition of the seclusion hitherto maintained, and of a free and unrestricted intercourse with other nations. The appearance of the steamer had much raised the hopes of the party favorably inclined to foreigners, for the speedy solution of this question, which had occupied for a long time past the minds of all those who wished their country well.

There can be no doubt that this man, who, moreover, regarded the matter from a commercial point of view, fully expressed the opinion of his own class and of a great majority of the population.

The Coreans are excessively fond of music, and they were highly pleased when one of our engineers, who played very well on the violin, performed some pieces to them on this instrument. The audience gave the liveliest signs of joy and satisfaction at his playing, and the greatest difficulty was to make the listeners understand that the best player even may become tired out at last.

A messenger arrived in the evening with the following curious letter from the governor of Kang-wha to my address:—"The conversation which we have had together some days ago has given me much and true comfort, and hearing, that you and your people are well, I am very happy and thank you therefore. As regards myself, I have been

afflicted with a disease of the eyes in the meantime, which has confined me to my couch and prevented my going about. All your orders have been promptly carried out. I had hoped to be able to see you to-day, but as the pain in my eyes has not diminished and remains unchanged, I have not been able to do as I desired. Have patience and wait in tranquillity for what is to come—as soon as I find myself better I shall come to converse with you.

"PEING-IN, the 17th of the 7th month.

"Kim-Tschai-Heuni sends you his thanks."

The evening closed with another long walk as delightful as the first. The temperature had all along been very moderate, considering the time of the year (August); we had never had above 78° during the day, and 70° during evening and night. This was the more remarkable, as other parts of the Asiatic Continent were visited by a fearful and extraordinary heat at the same time, which had risen, in the north of China for instance, for several weeks from 95° to 102° in the shade.

Our preparations for a longer excursion into the country had just been completed next morning, as the government commissaries were not to arrive before the following day, according to the arrangement come to, when, about ten in the forenoon, an extraordinary commotion was observable on shore. A great number of flag-bearers were drawn

up there, surrounded by crowds of natives, who appeared to be looking out for some uncommon spectacle. Towards noon a long line, coming from the direction of Kangwha, moved to the shore; the officials left their sedan chairs and embarked with their suites in several boats kept in readiness there. Introduced by Kim-Tschai-Heuni, the governor of Kangwha, two commissaries, with their secretaries, soon made their appearance on board. One of them, a tall, handsome man, who spoke Chinese fluently (having been attached some time ago to an embassy to Pekin, as he afterwards told us), whose card had introduced him as "Ni-Eung-ini, aged thirty-seven years, envoy of the Government," at once came up to me in a very frank and engaging manner, a proof that Tschai-Heuni's report upon us had not been an unfavorable one. He was the most gentlemanly Corean I had yet met, and had very prepossessing and good-natured looks. His companion was inferior in rank, and took hardly any part in the proceedings.

After the inevitable formalities had been concluded, Ni-Eung-ini proceeded at once to the business of the day. He stated that he had been deputed by the Government of Saoŭl, to hear our wishes and to report upon the object of our visit as fully as possible, to which I replied,—

"We have come here, in a friendly and amicable spirit, to endeavour to open an intercourse, for commercial and other purposes, between your country and other nations. I am confident that such an

intercourse once entered upon, will prove highly beneficial to the interests of Corea, and I am sure that your Government must share in this view, the more so, as it will be fully aware, that the great majority of its own people—and I have received manifold proofs and assurances to this effect—strongly desire the abolition of the old system of seclusion from the outer world, and wants the opening of the country. I sincerely trust that the friendly spirit in which we are prepared to meet you, will be reciprocated on the part of the Corean Government, and that the negotiations now about to be entered upon, will be conducted to a satisfactory conclusion. I am not deputed by any foreign Government, and represent no one but myself privately; but I have for a long time past taken a deep interest in all that concerns your people and your country, and I know, that my feelings and wishes are shared by all foreigners abroad. I also feel confident, that if my endeavours to induce the Corean Government to consent to throw open this country are crowned with success, foreign Governments will lose no time in confirming them by special treaties, and will be glad to convince you that they fully share the friendly and kind feelings towards this country to which I have given expression.

"The request, which is now submitted through me to you, is neither unreasonable nor unjust; no country is at present justified in keeping itself isolated and shut up from the whole civilized world;

nor has it the power to keep in this state for any length of time. I do not presume to offer any advice or counsel to your Government, but I am bound to say, that if the friendly advances now made are rejected, they will be renewed, sooner or later, in a different shape, and in the form of demands, which the Government will then be compelled to agree to and to accept, without having the chance or the power to refuse them."

Ni-Eung-ini listened attentively to this long address, nodding his head as if approvingly, from time to time. When I had done, he said,—

"I am fully sensible of the justice of your remarks, and I may state, that my Government is also conscious of the importance of the subject, and will give it the most serious consideration; nor is *it at all disinclined to agree to such proposals as are submitted* by you. But it shirks the responsibility to decide alone a question of so much moment, and for this reason the Government is desirous of obtaining the consent of the Emperor of China, previous to taking any decisive steps in this matter. I have not, however, come down to day to bring you a final answer, but only to have a preliminary conversation with you; my instructions are to return to Saoŭl at once, after having talked to you, to report upon the subject, and I shall return within two days with an envoy of a higher rank, who will inform you of the decision of the Government."

After this speech it was easy enough to see what

the Government was driving at. There existed no plausible ground upon which the proposal could be point-blank refused, nor did the Saoŭl authorities want to do this. That it was highly inconvenient to the party in power, and in the existent state of affairs, to consent to such a change, one could well understand; the murder of the missionaries was an event of too recent a date, and the favorites and counsellors of the regent, who had compromised themselves by this act, were afraid of being called to account, as soon as foreigners, *en masse*, commenced settling in the country. So that the onus of a refusal did not rest with them, it must be shifted on the shoulders of some one else, if only to gain time, and those of the Chinese Emperor were sufficiently strong and large to carry it without being much hurt. "Barkis was willing," but what could poor Barkis do if that naughty boy in Pekin, who fortunately was out of the way, insisted upon saying "No," afterwards? That the poor over-burdened child-emperor in Pekin had as much to do with, or to say in the matter, as the Khan of Tartary, or any other potentate, I was not supposed to know.

In reply to the envoy I said,—

"After what you have just told me, I think it advisable to wait for your return from Saoŭl with your superior, before we enter more fully into this matter. I may however tell you at once, that I am as well aware as you are yourself, that the Emperor of China has nothing whatever to do with this at all, and

will certainly not trouble himself about it. If such an assurance be at all needed, or if you consider its mention will be satisfactory to your Government, I may add, that there is no reason to fear, in the event of the country being opened to foreigners, their meddling in the political or other affairs of Corea, or their being the cause of any inconvenience on this head."

Ni-Eung-ini replied, that he would faithfully report all that had passed between us, and make special mention of the amicable sentiments expressed to him. This was all he had personally the power to do, as to the rest, of course he could not now undertake to state what final decision might be come to.

The points last alluded to by me, there could be no doubt, were essentially those upon which everything hinged. However little it might avail to reassure the Government upon them, if bent to make use of subterfuges, it could do no harm to try, though my hope of an ultimate success at present was much reduced, after what had passed from the envoy.

The bearing of Ni-Eung-ini was highly courteous and polite, evidently in pursuance to instructions he had received, and he discharged himself of his not over pleasant mission with great ability and tact. He was in a great hurry to return to Saoŭl, and the whole conference had barely lasted more than an hour. Previous to starting I presented him and old

Tschai-Heuni with several trifles such as Mordan's pencils and other like things, which they had greatly admired, the gifts giving them great pleasure. Ni-Eung-ini promised to bring me in return, from Saoŭl, several of the fine Corean hats and other articles of country manufacture, and he left us apparently well pleased with everything he had seen. The governor of Kangwha had taken no active part in the discussion.

Immediately after the departure of the commissaries I started on the excursion planned for the day. With a few men as escort, I traversed the country for many miles without molestation or hindrance. Kangwha forms one of the largest districts of the province of Kiengki, and of the most fertile of all the provinces of the kingdom. It contains but one large town of note, the district capital of the same name, with some 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and a large number of considerable hamlets and villages. The town of Kangwha, which is very prettily situated, offers nothing remarkable in point of sights; it has few and poor shops, and certainly none worth seeing, as they contain nothing to tempt the eye of any one accustomed to the fine shops in Chinese towns.

The roads, in the country as well as over the mountains, are broad and well kept, and render travelling very easy.

Returning somewhat tired towards evening I found an unexpected surprise in store for us at one of the large hamlets which we had to pass. The

principal official of the place, probably acting upon instructions from a higher quarter, as he hardly would have ventured to do so on his own responsibility, gave me a pressing invitation to his house, where a repast of fowls and various Corean dainties had been prepared. Coreans are not over much given to hospitality in general, and the honour and favour intended to be shown on this occasion were consequently the more to be valued, though I would heartily have dispensed with them, on account of the various unknown luxuries which we were made to swallow, and which could not well be refused without giving offence to our host. Several of the dignitaries of the neighbourhood had been asked to this festive repast, who appeared to enjoy it amazingly, drinking immense quantities of the most nasty saki I ever tasted, a stuff more horrible yet than Chinese saki. Nor was it long before the effects of this very strong drink became apparent upon the company assembled, which was soon in the highest spirits. Of course there was a great exhibition of friendly feeling, and a general demonstration of good wishes on our behalf. It was close upon midnight before we were allowed to depart, not however without all the company insisting upon seeing us safely to the shore, where we took very warm leave from each other. Our host had previously presented me with a long staff of very peculiar and hard wood, which has served me as a walking-stick ever since.

The day following passed without any occurrence worth noting, save that we had again many visitors on board.

At noon next day the cortège of flag-bearers, &c., announced the arrival of the envoys expected from Saoŭl, who soon after embarked, accompanied by the governor of Kangwha. This time Ni-Eung-ini appeared as second, the chief commissary introducing himself by a card upon his arrival on board, in the following terms :—"Pang-Ou-Seu, Envoy of the Government, with order to receive the foreigners well, aged seventy-eight years." Conducted by the two other officials, who treated him with great respect, this very old, but still active and lively gentleman, was received with all honours due to his rank, and soon seemed to feel quite at home. He spoke Chinese very fluently, and better than Ni-Eung-ini. Before the proceedings commenced the latter delivered to me the presents which he had promised to bring from Saoŭl, which consisted of three articles of Corean manufacture, a number of fine straw hats, of white and rose-colour paper fans, strong, but rather clumsily made, and of several dozens of small wooden combs! The production of the latter caused a general outbreak of merriment, but as they had been selected by the donor as a speciality of Corean workmanship, they were accepted with due thanks.

After the completion of the unavoidable formalities, Pang-Ou-Seu began as follows: "I have

been instructed to bid you welcome in the name of the Corean Government, and to hail the arrival of your vessel in these parts as a symptom of a beginning intercourse which, in course of time, may spring up between this country and foreign nations. Upon receipt of the report rendered by Ni-Eung-ini, the council of state has been called together to take your wishes and proposals into serious consideration; nor is the Government at all disinclined to entertain the same. But the king (*i. e.*, the regent), my master, does not wish to decide an affair of so much moment by himself, and without the advice and approval of the Emperor of China. Cannot you proceed to Pekin, and there procure yourself a letter from the Emperor, authorizing the king to throw this country open? With such a letter in hand your wishes will be listened to readily, and all difficulties can be removed in this manner."

Pang-Ou-Seu had delivered his address very solemnly and impressively, and at the conclusion looked up rather eagerly to observe how it had been received. I was not surprised, after the allusions made previously by Ni-Eung-ini, that the Government would try to evade the question in the manner it had done now, and would anxiously avail itself of any pretence to postpone the period for granting the demand for free intercourse with the country. But I was naturally vexed that so shallow a subterfuge had been chosen, which supposed an utter ignorance on our part of the actual state of the

relations existing between China and Corea, and my reply was accordingly couched in terms which made the envoys understand that the stratagem was seen through.

"I deeply regret," I said, "to hear that the Government chooses to make use of so shallow a pretence for declining the friendly proposals addressed to the same. As to my going to Pekin to ask for a letter authorizing the opening of Corea, you know that such a demand is as preposterous as childish, for you are yourselves perfectly well aware that such an application will lead to nothing, even if directed to the Chinese Government through the proper quarter. If the Corean Government thinks that foreigners abroad are so ignorant of the actual state of affairs between China and Corea, you may disabuse the authorities at Saoŭl on this point, and, although it seems now apparently to suit its purpose, to appeal to a dependence from China which has long since ceased to exist, as a reason for refusing this application, you may understand that I can only regard this in the light of a badly chosen subterfuge. It would have been better and far more gracious, to reply by a frank and straightforward refusal at once. I should then have known at all events, with whom I had to deal, and there would have been no reason to question the sincerity and truthfulness of your Government. It has been my object, during the visits I have paid to your country, to prove by a friendly and open manner to the

authorities and to the inhabitants, that the intercourse with foreigners could offer only advantages, and certainly not be fraught with danger to either of them. I am glad to have learned, wherever we have come in contact with the people, that the great majority of the latter at least, have expressed the wish to see the system of seclusion cease and abolished, and I have the satisfaction to know that this general desire has been greatly increased and promoted by the favorable impression we have left behind everywhere. It is the more to be regretted that the Government acts thus against the express and well-known wishes of the people, as an opportunity like the present is not likely to offer a second time, for the time will arrive when it will have to grant what is now asked in a friendly way, either with a good or bad grace. And I cannot help considering that your Government does not act politically wise in the way it does. If I could have returned with the news that it agreed to throw this country open to foreigners and to the trade of the world, everybody would have rejoiced at the liberal spirit of the Corean authorities, and in all probability the evil consequences would have been avoided which the unwarrantable murder of the missionaries will now inevitably bring down upon them. Out of regard to the Government, and in proof of my good-will, I have hitherto abstained from alluding to this subject, and I do so now merely to show you that we are not quite so ignorant abroad of what

takes place here as you may believe. Your evasive answer I can only take for what it is, as a final and net refusal of my request, and as, under these circumstances, I do not feel justified in uselessly remaining here any longer with the steamer, we shall prepare to return at once. The Government will have to thank itself if the request, now amicably made, is repeated in a more categoric and less acceptable way another time.

The envoys listened to my reply with great attention, and without moving a muscle of their faces, while their secretaries wrote it down word for word. When I came to speak of the affair of the missionaries, they started and looked at each other, as if to express their surprise that it was known abroad. They both rose when I had concluded, and, coming up to me, they tried to appease the vexation and anger which they saw me exhibit. They seemed much to regret that the answer, which they had been instructed to deliver, was taken so much to heart; and expressed their hope that everything might yet come right in time. They begged me not to lose patience, and not to bear them any personal ill-will for the part they had to take in the affair.

I have no cause to be angry with you, I told them, for I know that you have only carried out the instructions given to you. But I am naturally angry with your Government, which will not listen to the voice of reason and peace; the time will come sooner or later, when it will have to listen to the

sound of cannon instead. Neither in size nor in power can your country compare to China, or Japan, and both these countries have been compelled to admit foreigners; how much less will you be able to resist our demand for opening Corea, when the western powers are determined to enforce the same? The times have long since gone by, in which any country had the right or power to close its gates to the whole world, and you will make no exception to this rule. The appearance of this small steamer, which has succeeded to penetrate nearly up to the walls of your capital, is a proof of what I say; and if we have been able to carry out what you have always believed to be next to impossible, how much easier will this be for the well armed men-of-war of the great European powers, when they are sent here to finish the work now commenced! I lament that our negotiations have not been brought to a more satisfactory conclusion, but as your Government has decided upon the course to take, and I am convinced that no reasoning and no words will induce it to alter its views at present, it will be utterly useless to waste any more time, and I consider the negotiations brought to an end.

Pang-Ou-Seu and Ni-Eung-ini expressed their great regret, that the mission upon which they were employed had not ended differently, but they admitted that they thought it unlikely the ruling powers in the capital would take another decision now, as the influence to which the resolutions of the

Tai-puen-Koon were subject, was not a favorable one to our proposal. Though they took good care not to throw any direct blame upon the present administration, their tone, and their undisguised, dejected and cast-down demeanour, showed as much as any words could do, that they both disapproved of and felt dissatisfied with the present state of affairs.

As it was to no purpose to continue our conference any longer, the envoys at last took their leave, again requesting us not to bear them any personal malice on account of the unfavorable result of their mission.

No time was now lost in making the necessary preparations for our departure, which was to take place the next morning. The rising sun showed us for the last time the scenery on the banks of the Kang-kiang clad in rosy tints and in all its romantic beauty; a last salute from our big gun, which resounded through the unbroken stillness of the morning air, and the head of our brave little steamer was turned homeward-bound. Passing with the high tide over all the dangers and reefs of the river, we arrived in the evening, without stoppage, at the mouth of the Kang-kiang, and took our direct course for the less beautiful, but more hospitable shores of China, which we reached safely after a few days passage.

CHAPTER IX.

THIRD VOYAGE.

Origin and causes of this voyage—Hostile bearing of the Corean Government after the French expedition—Ascendancy of the Regent's party—Severe measures taken against his own people—Levy of town garrisons—Murder of native Christians—Helpless position of the people—Secret news obtained *viâ* Leautong—My relations with Messrs. Ridel and Féron—Character of the latter—Coreans in China—First hint of their plan—Further communications on this subject, and proposal to join in its execution—Its nature—Monsieur Féron's appeal—I agree to accept his proposal—The steamer "China"—Our escort—The steam launch "Greta"—Departure from Shanghai—Arrival at Prince Jérome Gulf—Our start—Description of the passage up—Delays during the same—Our landing—The march into the country—The road—We are stopped on passing a town—Flight of the Corean soldiers—Their leader—Beautiful scenery of the country—Arrival at our destination—Description of the place—Difficulties in gaining access to the same—Our search abandoned and return decided upon—March back to the "Greta"—Re-embarkation—The "China" reached just in time—Resolve to go to Kangwha through the Eugénie Archipelago—Visit of officials from Isle Tricault—My letter to the Regent—Visits on shore—Return of the Corean officials on board—Reply from the Regent—Its nature—Bad opinion expressed by the Coreans of the Regent's character—They ask for a free pass and invite us on shore—Our visit to Tong Keum Tei Island—The walled town—The walls guarded by soldiery—Our reception—Walk on the Island—The stolen calf—We return to the city walls to offer compensation—Are

fired upon while talking to the people—The Manilaman killed —The wounded sailor—Return to the steamer—Am asked by the Manilamen to allow them to avenge their fallen comrade, and to give leave to burn the city—Permission refused—Final departure of the "China"—Conclusion—Text of proposed provisionary treaty which was to have been concluded with the kingdom of Corea.

NEARLY two years had elapsed since the voyage of the "Emperor," and since the luckless expedition of Admiral Roze, when a combination of circumstances arose which led finally to the resolve to undertake a third voyage to the Corea, which will form the contents of this chapter. These circumstances are of a nature so exceptional and unusual, the character of the voyage itself is so out of the common, that it will be necessary, before entering upon a detailed account of the latter, to give a clear and distinct statement of the reason and of the motives which were the causes of its origin and of its being carried out in the end.

The greater the general expectation had been which had been founded upon the result of the French expedition, the more poignant and deep was the disappointment which followed when the facts connected with the same became known. The negotiations carried on with the Corean Government during the visit of the "Emperor," which had been marked by a friendly spirit, had only proved unsuccessful when the Coreans found out that there was no material force to back our demands, while there had been more than ample means at the command of the French

admiral to bring his expedition, with a little skill and patience, to a satisfactory conclusion. It soon became evident, that even the outward show of goodwill, with which the Government had met the proposal to throw the country open to foreign intercourse, would give way to a feeling of open and undisguised hostility as soon as it had discovered, no less to its great exultation than to its own surprise, how easily and cheaply the danger threatening from the French attack had been got rid of. However little disposed the Regent and his creatures had shown themselves previously to grant voluntarily what was asked, the negative result had undeniably been obtained, to impress them, through the reports of their emissaries, more favourably on behalf of foreigners than they had ever been before, and to convince them that the term of separation was fast approaching its close. This result, which had been gained with no little pains and patience, was now completely and irretrievably lost through the bad management of the last expedition, and the small though powerful party, which could only maintain its rule by preventing new elements to enter the country and which on this account had been strongly averse to the admission of foreigners and had been mainly instrumental in influencing the decisions lately taken, had now completely gained the day, while losing no time, regardless of the means it employed, to make the most out of the victory obtained. The Regent, whose character has been painted

previously, was only too glad to be led by the advice and counsel of his favourites, whose interests were bound up so closely with his own. Conscious that his own safety and power could only be preserved by maintaining the old state of affairs, measures were taken to strike terror into the hearts of the population to cure the same from any desire for innovations. The first step in this direction was the renewal of the old injunctions against the admission of foreigners on Corean soil, which was followed by a series of new and most stringent prohibitions. The visit to the annual fair in the North was forbidden to all Coreans, and the importation of foreign goods of any description was interdicted under penalty of capital punishment. The authorities of every town in the country were ordered to levy and drill a body of 120 men, who were to serve as garrison and guard of their respective places, to protect the same against any future outward attack.

Not satisfied, however, with taking these preventive measures alone, the fury of the Regent and of his satellites then turned against all those who were known or suspected to be favourably inclined to foreigners, and in the first instance against the native Christians. The inhabitants of entire villages were either put to death or banished to distant places, and many thousands of innocent people were cruelly murdered or deprived of their homes for no other reason than for having complained of and

objected to the arbitrary acts of the Government and of its helpmates.

This was the state of things predominating after the withdrawal of the French expedition, and the people were made to suffer grievously for the anxiety which the Regent and his Government had had to undergo. Delivered over to the by no means tender mercies of a bloodthirsty tyrant and of an unscrupulous faction, who had no other means to wreak their revenge for the attempt to depose them, the unfortunate population had to bear, as best it could, the outbreak of spite and rage on their part, for the supposed affront to their dignity and power. And so well and firmly had the ruling party possessed itself of the power, that no one ventured to rise against the same openly or to make any attempt to rid the country of their rule.

Although most severe measures had been taken by the Government to prevent the news of the events occurring in the country to pass out into the world, arrangements had been made to receive reliable information of all doings, by converts and other persons opposed to the party in power, who had the same secretly conveyed from time to time over the northen frontier *viâ* Leautong to Shanghai. In this way I was kept *au fait* of what was going on in the country, and although there was at the time no hope or prospect of an improvement of our relations with the same, it was but natural that everything concerning it should deeply interest me.

As a natural consequence of my last voyage, during which the persecuted missionaries had applied to me for assistance, I had become acquainted with two of these gentlemen after their safe return to China. Of Mons. Ridel, whose letter had reached me at Haimi through the convert Philippus, I have but little to say, save that he was a very accomplished and amiable person, and a man earnestly given to his work. Mons. Féron, the late *provicar* of the Corean mission, who plays a conspicuous part in this chapter, deserves however a more prominent mention. I may add that both of them were full of grateful acknowledgment for the readiness which I had shown to assist them. It may also not be out of place to state here once and for all, that these gentlemen were neither Jesuits nor had ever belonged to that order.

Mons. Féron had, I believe, been attached for more than eleven years to the Corean mission, and had continually resided in the country, when the disaster took place which deprived his colleagues of life and nearly cost him his own. An account is given in the last chapter how he and two of his colleagues succeeded in escaping, after undergoing many vicissitudes and passing through numerous dangers, the ire of the Regent and the pursuit of the bands sent out to hunt them down. During his long stay in the interior he had learned to love the country and its people, and while he frankly admitted the errors of judgment committed by his unfortunate

confrère, Mons. Berneux, he felt deeply grieved and shocked at the turn which affairs had taken, and at the oppression and sufferings to which the population was subjected by the unscrupulous conduct and cruelty of the party in power. Highly bred and of great learning, frank and single-hearted in character, he was altogether free from religious zelotry; devoted to the work to which his whole life was given up with a rare degree of self-denial, all his thoughts were centred in the one object to do his duty, and to do it well. Of all the many missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, with whom in the course of my wanderings and protracted stay in foreign parts I have become acquainted, I remember but very few who deserve a higher meed of praise than Mons. Féron. The more he has been vilified and abused by persons who are not worthy to compare to him, the more I think it my duty to testify to his high and rare qualities of mind and character, and to state my conviction that he never acted otherwise than on the purest motives. If ever this book should happen to meet his eye, this may assure him, that I, who next to him may well claim the greatest right to deplore the final check our voyage suffered, am the last to throw any blame upon him for the result, and that, on the contrary, I have always borne and shall continue to bear him a kind and friendly remembrance.

It cannot be a matter of surprise, that a man of this stamp, so suddenly and unexpectedly torn from

the active field of his labours, should deeply regret the state of involuntary leisure to which he was condemned, and should lament to see the work to which he had devoted so many years of his life jeopardized, if not completely lost and ruined. Several Coreans, who had preferred leaving their families and their country rather than quit their teacher, had accompanied him to China, and these were followed later on by some more, who drew a very sad and disheartening picture of the occurrences which had taken place in the peninsula during the year past. Through Mons. Féron's intermission I was regularly informed of the news which he received through native channels, and moved by the same interest and desire, we frequently conversed upon the prospects of a changé for the better taking place, though both of us soon came to the conclusion that it was a vain hope to look for an interference on the part of any of the powers interested in Eastern affairs to bring about such a desirable event.

Matters stood thus, when one day Mons. Féron came to me, evidently much agitated and excited. It appeared that news of some fresh outrages committed by the Regent had arrived, which had greatly disturbed him and the Coreans under his protection. Several of the latter had then conferred together, and had finally agreed upon a plan, which they had submitted to him, by which they hoped to put an end to the atrocities to which their countrymen were subjected. Of its nature I was not informed at the

time, but I was told that it was considered infallible by the Coreans to bring the Regent to reason.

"Sir," Mons. Féron addressed me, "I have always looked to you as the one person able and willing to help us. If I now place the means in your power to bring the Regent and his Government to submit to the demand for opening the country, and to sign treaties to that effect with the foreign powers, will you undertake another voyage to put this in execution?" Not a little astonished at the question and the prospect which were opened to me, I of course demanded to know what these means were, by which such a great object was to be gained.

Mons. Féron begged me to wait a little longer, until he had had time to maturely consider upon the details of the proposed expedition and had further conferred with his native friends. But he expressed his own firm conviction that the object in view would be gained, and as I placed implicit confidence in his judgment, I told him that if the matter was at all feasible and likely to lead to the desired result, I should not hesitate to assist him in carrying out the same.

Several days afterwards Mons. Féron again called upon me, and stated that the more he had thought about the matter the more convinced he felt that it alone would lead to the desired issue, and that the Coreans were not only of the same opinion, but strongly advocated the plan.

"The communication which I have to make to

you," Mons. Féron continued, "may startle you at first, and may appear strange and extraordinary, but I am sure, when you have seriously reflected upon the same, you will agree with me that it is the only way at present to obtain what we want, that is, to compel the Regent to accede to the demand to throw the country open. You as well as I know the character of the man, against whom alone our plan is directed, we also know how universally detested he is by his own people, who have no greater wish than to see foreigners admitted into the country. I believe you know me well enough to admit that I am not actuated by any low or selfish motives, nor am I led by any personal ambition, and I only wish to be able to return to the work which I have done for years past. I cannot be reproached with religious narrow-mindedness, as by the conclusion of a treaty the road will be open to Protestant as well as to Roman Catholic missionaries, and quite a new field will be opened to the former.

"If the project I am now going to lay before you will at first sight appear to you strange and out of the common, remember that a great aim can never be gained by small means, and that we must look at this affair from another point of view than that which may be taken by narrow-minded people. And further, that while it will serve as an effective means of coercion on the Regent, it will not even cause any lasting harm to him, much less endanger the life or property of any single person in the

country itself. If it will become necessary to take a rather strong escort with us, it is not because I myself or my native friends have the least apprehension of any real danger, but mainly for the sake of protecting us from any idle curiosity which otherwise might impede our progress."

After this introduction, Mons. Féron went on to acquaint me with the nature of the plan, which was as follows.

The Regent, a person of very superstitious disposition, laid great store upon the possession of some old relics, which had been in his family for long years, and which were kept and guarded in a secluded place belonging to him. The possession of these relics was thought to ensure the fortune of himself and of his family, and they were accordingly much treasured and looked upon with a kind of superstitious awe. Although very little had been known of him personally previous to the adoption of his son by the Queen Dowager, this circumstance soon became known after he had usurped the supreme power and had made himself Regent. Upon this circumstance the Coreans had based their project. They averred that the temporary possession of these objects would be tantamount to invest their holders with an almost absolute power, and equivalent to having possession of the capital itself; that the Regent would only be too glad to accede to anything to have them restored to him, and that he would be compelled to listen to the

terms to be proposed to him, viz. to open the country by concluding a treaty, and even to send an embassy to the different powers in proof of his desire to do so.

"I need not tell you," Mons. Féron said in conclusion, "that I would not for a moment have thought of asking your assistance in this affair, if after mature consideration I was not myself convinced of our being able to attain the ends aimed at without risking the lives of a single man. At the same time it would be absurd to assert that there are no difficulties to overcome, the greatest of which consists in the peculiar position of the place where these things are kept. To get there, it will be necessary to ascend by steamer a branch of the Prince Jérome Gulf, which runs nearly thirty miles inland, and this can only be done once a month for thirty hours during spring-tides, when the water in this branch rises to a height of three feet at the utmost, while during the rest of the month it dries up almost completely. The locality in question is some four hours' good walking distance from the landing-place, and a populous town will have to be passed on the road. It will therefore be required so to time the arrival at the entrance of the Gulf as to be there just at the beginning of spring-tides, which must be made use of both for going and returning. It happens that some of my Coreans are natives of the district and know the place well, and they will serve as guides to the same. These

men are so positive in their belief of success, that they assert the Regent would come down in person to sign a preliminary treaty, to have these relics restored. And above all, before you come to a decision, remember always that the benefit which is to be gained will be shared by the world at large, and by the natives of the country in particular, and is beyond comparison to the harm done to the Regent personally, who by all his deeds and actions has placed himself beyond the pale of nations."

I need not say that this communication had a somewhat startling effect upon me. It was not only the peculiar and extraordinary nature of the plan proposed—for I had been prepared to something out of the common—but the almost doubtless result, which, according to Mons. Féron's and his Corean friends' opinion, must ensue—that caused this effect. The earnest and impressive manner, in which Mons. Féron had spoken, no doubt had a good share in this. I knew him well enough to be convinced that he was not a man given to entertain any unreasonable or over-sanguine hopes of success: the purity of his character was unquestionable and undoubted. I did not conceal from myself that the project was what may be called an adventurous undertaking, but the stake to be played for was certainly a grand one, and the experience I had gained during my former voyages made me look at the affair with more favourable eyes than I otherwise might have done, and in a different light to what it could

be viewed by outsiders. Still I did not wish to take a rash or hasty resolve, and I asked for several days' time to weigh and consider the proposal.

At the end of this term, after a long and most anxious consideration of all points in question, I determined to accept Mons. Féron's offer, and to assist him, as best I could, in the execution of the great object we wished to gain, viz. to open the kingdom of Corea to the world.

Several weeks later, on a fine morning, the steamer "China," Captain Moeller, of about 1000 tons' burthen, which I had succeeded in engaging for the voyage, left Shanghai on the projected expedition. Besides Monsieur Féron, his Corean companions and myself, there was an American gentleman, Mr. I——, on board, who had rendered me most valuable assistance, and who, speaking Chinese almost better than a Chinaman, had been permitted to accompany us. Some ten or twelve European sailors, twenty-five Manilamen, and a number of Chinese sailors had been engaged to serve as escort. As the steamer "China" was of too large a size to enable her to ascend the branch of the Prince Jérome Gulf, we had taken a small steamer, the "Greta," drawing only two feet of water, in tow, which had been placed at my disposal by a friend; and notwithstanding the somewhat rough weather we encountered, we managed to bring her safe over, though our arrival, which had been timed to be just at the beginning of the spring-

tide, had been retarded for several hours on this account.

It was late at night when our Corean pilots brought us to an anchorage at the entrance of the Gulf, and the "Greta" was hauled alongside without delay to get ready for the start on the following morning. An hour after daybreak we left the "China" and steamed lustily into the branch by which we were to reach our destination. Several miles wide at the mouth, it narrows gradually to about half a mile from shore to shore for the whole of its length, while the banks, rocky and wild at the entrance, lose their mountainous character some miles lower down and become flat and even. A great many villages are built on both sides of the shore, and the whole of their population soon turned out, lining the water's edge as far as we could see. We kept as much as possible in the middle of the stream, nevertheless we got several times aground, which delayed us longer than we had expected, though we always succeeded in getting off again after a little time. The distance to be run by the "Greta" was as near as possible thirty miles, which we had calculated to do in about four hours. The stoppages during the passage caused however several hours' delay, and it was not till nearly eleven o'clock in the forenoon when at last the place was reached where we were to land. There again we were received by a crowd of people, who showed, naturally enough, a great deal of curiosity, but who

otherwise were quite as friendly as I had always found them in other places. As our Coreans knew well enough what direction to take, there was no need to take any guides, and after our people had disembarked and had been formed into a little squad in marching order no time was lost in setting off. The natives were told to remain behind, and as our little steamer, which had been left in charge of the engineer and some men, was a great attraction to them, we had not much trouble to rid ourselves of their company.

The first part of the road led over a long plain with only a few straggling little villages, which were passed unmolested. There was not a tree to shelter our march from the rays of the sun, and we were rather glad when, on reaching its end after a hard walk of some hours, and after traversing a narrow defile, the character of the country changed and turned more woody than before. The road gradually ascended, and the country became more hilly and very picturesque. There was no sign of any habitations near for a long time; we were, however, now rapidly nearing a town of some importance, where no doubt our march had already been signalled, and where we might expect to meet some hindrance, though we could pass its outskirts without being obliged to pass through it. Nor was the fear of our Corean guides altogether unfounded. A turning brought us soon face to face with a number of soldiers, who, with the chief official of the town at their

head, had planted themselves across the road, and wanted us to stop. When I went up to the leader and asked him to stand aside with his people, he made at first a feeble show of resistance, but as soon as I ordered our escort, which had halted, to proceed, he thought wiser of it, the more so as he found himself suddenly deserted by the few soldiers under his command, who took to their heels and left him alone to defend the roadway if he thought proper. Mons. Féron assured the man that there was not the least intention on our part to harm him or any of his people, upon which, though at first he had seemed much inclined to follow his friends, he took courage to stay, and even told us which direction to take to get to our destination by the shortest road. One of our sailors, overpowered by the heat and the fatigue of the march, had just then suddenly been taken ill and fainted; and as we could not leave him behind, and had already lost much valuable time, the official lent us an open mountain-chair, in which the man was carried until he had sufficiently recovered. Fortunately there was no further impediment on the road, but it soon became apparent that our Corean guides had underrated the time it would take to get to the end of our march. Our calculation had been to reach it by one o'clock at latest, instead of which we had barely made more than half way by that time, and we had still the most wearisome portion up-hill before us. The scenery was very wild and beautiful, but we had no leisure to enjoy the fine

views which offered themselves as we gradually ascended. Strange enough, there were no houses or villages anywhere near, and with the exception of a few herdsmen, who had charge of a couple of bullocks, there was no living being near.

At last, close upon five o'clock, the Coreans pointed out the top of a rather steep hill, with a deep ravine on each side, as the place to which we were bound, and half-an-hour more brought us to its summit. It was one of the prettiest spots I have ever seen—flanked on both sides by high mountains and splendidly wooded. A large village was built on the hill slopes, the inhabitants of which soon turned out *in corpore*, and it was here our Coreans told us we should find the place: upon being questioned the village people made not the slightest difficulty to point it out themselves. It was a very secluded spot, but instead of a stone house, which I had expected to contain the relics, I was rather disappointed to find a walled-in place, strongly protected by an earthwork all round.[1] To gain access it became necessary to remove one side of the latter, where a door was supposed to lead into the same. As the latter difficulty had not been foreseen (our Corean

[1] Upon my inquiring why this place had been selected in preference to one near the residence of the Regent himself, I was informed that this had been done by the advice of the bonzes, who had found out and chosen this secluded spot, and designated it as the safest place for keeping the relics in question, to which they had only been removed within the last few years.

guides having led us to expect that the place was easily accessible), and as we carried hardly any implements for the purpose, we had to select such as were required in the village, and our men commenced their labour. This proved however a much more arduous work than Mons. Féron and his Corean friends had thought, for though no time had been lost since our arrival, it took five hours before this part was nearly done. Of course none of our people, except ourselves, knew the object of our search, but everybody felt intuitively that a matter of the highest importance was at stake, and that everything depended upon the work being done quickly. The wall was at last laid bare, but here a fresh and much greater difficulty appeared, for instead of the expected door we found its place taken up by a huge stone block, which had been fitted into the opening. An attempt was made to remove the same, but without any result. Upon closer investigation it was proved that five or six hours would at least be required to put this last obstacle out of the way, but this was too long a time to allow for our stay. Much to my own disappointment, I was compelled to tell Mons. Féron that I could not take upon myself the responsibility of exposing the lives of any of our people by retarding our return to the vessel: we had already exceeded the allotted time by nearly twelve hours, and I had to take into consideration not only the precarious and exposed position of our little steamer at the landing-place, but also the fact that the high

tides were on the point of turning, and that there was barely time to reach the "China" before the water had fallen again to its lowest point. Much as he deplored the unfortunate circumstances attending our undertaking, Mons. Féron had to admit the justice of my remarks, and it was decided to abandon all further attempts, to allow our men a short rest, and to return to the steamer. This programme was carried out, and after another hour's stay we retraced our steps to the landing-place, where we had left the "Greta" at anchor.

Nothing happened during our march back, the road was completely deserted, and nobody stirred when we passed the town where we had encountered the soldiers yesterday. On nearing the shore of the gulf this was soon explained, for we found an enormous crowd of people assembled there, and the men who had remained in charge of the little vessel overjoyed to see us return safe, as they had hardly been able to keep the steamer clear from the crowd. It was high time for our departure, for the water had already commenced to fall, and a few hours later would have left our vessel high and dry without any chance of returning. Our embarkation took place with all despatch, and we steamed away with a heavy heart from the place upon which all our hopes had been set. The news of our yesterday's ascent had caused a still greater crowd to collect along the shore, which behaved quite friendly. At several places we were asked to stop, and invited on shore, but we

could not think of doing such a thing under the circumstances.[1]

The news of our march had of course spread far and wide, and the people, who now understood that the object of the same had been directed against the hated person of the Regent himself, expressed in many places and quite openly their disappointment that we had not succeeded better in our undertaking.

The water in the gulf had fallen so rapidly during the last few hours of our passage down, that, even after we gained sight again of the "China," it was neck and go whether we should be able to reach her without assistance of her boats. But the little engine of our boat, pressed to do its utmost, behaved bravely, and about three o'clock in the afternoon—the gulf behind us being by this time nearly completely dry—we reached her safely without any accident having befallen any of the persons composing the expedition.

Already during our return march I had consulted with Mons. Féron about our further proceedings, and we decided to make one further attempt to induce the Regent to abandon the policy hitherto pursued, before returning to China. Neither of us, knowing the man we had to deal with, had any great

[1] It was on one of these occasions that I received from natives who boarded us in boats the lists of the places destroyed, and of the number of people killed by the order of the Regent and his faction.

hope or expectation of a satisfactory result, but we did not wish to leave any chance untried to bring him to reason. Instead of ascending by the main branch of the Kang-Kiang River, which would have taken up too much time, and which, on account of the draught of the "China," I deemed impracticable, I resolved to direct the latter's course by the route taken by the French expedition, and to cast anchor near Isle Boisée, close to the south point of Kang-wha, where we could easily communicate with the authorities on the mainland.

At daylight next morning we steamed northward through the Impératrice Eugénie Archipelago, and following the track taken by Admiral Roze we had reached the end of our voyage late in the afternoon. The channel leading up to the narrow branch of the Kang-Kiang shallows very much a little above Isle Boisée, and vessels of large size cannot approach Kangwha any nearer, a difficulty which would render this route altogether impracticable for commercial purposes. The "China" managed to get a little higher up, between Boisée and Tricault Islands (Tong Keumtei), the last named, being an island of pretty large size, with a town close to the shore, protected by walls evidently of new date. Near this island, about twenty minutes' steam from Kangwha we cast anchor, but it being now too late, nothing further could be undertaken for the day.

Next morning, about ten o'clock, a boat came on board with the chief officials of the town on Isle

Tricault, desiring to know what business we had come upon. They were perfectly friendly, and we took advantage of their coming to deliver to them a letter addressed to the Regent personally, which they faithfully promised should be forwarded without delay.

In this letter, written in Corean and signed by me, I reminded the Tai-ouen-goon of my former visits to the country, and specially of the last, and also that I had at the time, upon my amicable overtures being refused, frankly and openly warned him that a similar opportunity to gain at once the goodwill of his own people and that of foreign nations, by agreeing to the opening of the country, was not likely to offer a second time. That the visit of the French expedition must already have proved to him the correctness of my predictions and that he could not commit a greater error than to imagine that he had succeeded in vanquishing the French, because their chief had thought fit to withdraw after a short stay. Proceeding then to the object of the present expedition, I informed him, it had not been for want of means that I had decided at the last moment to abandon our original plan, and that the fact of my having succeeded to reach our destination unimpeded must have convinced him that even his power and authority was not so unlimited as he might hitherto have believed. In his own interest, if not in that of the people, I earnestly entreated him to free himself from the baneful influence of his present

advisers, to reconsider the proposals formerly submitted to the Government, and to examine the draft of a treaty to be laid before him, which might show him the base of the stipulations to be entered into at a later period. The letter concluded with the request of a speedy reply.

As an answer to this appeal could not be expected for some days, and our vessel was anchored too far out to expect as many visitors as on former occasions, we employed our leisure time by cruising about the many islands in the Archipelago and to pay a visit to several of them. I made also one or two excursions in the southern part of Kangwha; and it was during one of these that I found Two Tree Hill deprived of its distinguishing trees, and the watch-tower still in ruins.

On the morning of the fourth day after my letter had been despatched the first official from Tong-Keum Tei, together with a special messenger and several secretaries, arrived on board, delivering the reply from the Tai-ouen-goon. It was likewise written in Corean, and although purporting to be written by his orders, not only his seal was affixed to it, but the messenger admitted that it emanated direct from him.

The epistle commenced by stating that the Tai-ouen-goon had heard with dismay of the daring attempt made in entering the country on purpose to do him harm, which he thought was not quite in accordance with the protestations of friendship I had made on former occasions. He would, however, fain

believe that I had allowed myself to be inveigled into this act by the misrepresentations and the bad and fatal advice of persons who had escaped his just and fearful vengeance (alluding to Mons. Féron and the native converts). As to my repeated proposal to open the country to foreigners, his resolutions on this head were in no way changed—Corea had no need of foreign intruders—and he would find means, as he had done on the occasion of the visit of the French, to keep them off, and to show the world that it was a vain attempt to try and overcome Corean bravery and valour. This was the answer which I was to take home with me, to proclaim the same to the rest of the universe, of which he declared himself to be no more afraid now than he had ever been before.

We had, in fact, hardly expected another reply, though the concluding passages plainly showed how enraged the Tai-ouen-goon felt at the attempt directed against himself personally, the purport of which he of course understood well enough, and the consequences of which he had so narrowly escaped.

The news of our march into the interior and its object had by this time been spread all over the country, and the officials on board spoke quite openly about it. Not only did it appear to have caused no feeling of vexation or animosity with them, but, on the contrary, they regretted that we had not succeeded; and after they had imbibed a considerable quantity of wine, they surprised even us by lavishing

such a heap of abuse upon the Regent and his counsellors, as would certainly have cost them their heads if uttered on shore. They accused him of all sorts of misdeeds and tyrannical actions, openly mentioned that he tried to enrich himself by false coining, and said that, although in the country nobody dared openly avow it, he was thoroughly detested by all. One of the officials, a tall, powerful man, stated that they were kept in continual dread of losing their lives; that this state of things was no longer bearable, and that the people felt sure foreigners would soon return in force, to deliver them from their oppressors. He seemed to think this event so near at hand, that he earnestly entreated us to provide him and his friends with a free pass, which they might be able to produce when the time arrived, and which he considered was necessary to ensure their safety. We endeavoured in vain to make him understand that we had no power to give him such a document, and, if we did, that it would be of no earthly use to him. Again and again he repeated his request, and he appeared quite disconcerted and disappointed when he found that we could not respond to his appeal. When they at last left us, after many hours' stay, they pressed me to pay them a visit on Tong-Keum Tei Island, which I promised to do next morning.

As we had observed a great many soldiers collected on the walls of the city near the shore, it was deemed advisable to take an escort with us; and we, that is Captain Möller, Mons. Féron, and myself, with

about twenty men, Europeans and Manilamen, steamed up to the island in the "Greta." A short reply had been written to the last letter of the Regent, simply acknowledging its receipt and nothing more. The shore extended perhaps a thousand yards up to the walls of the city, which were of the usually low kind of Corean fortifications. One of its sides projected some twenty yards to the shore, and in this part there was a strong wooden gate, through which alone admission could be gained into the city.

On landing from the "Greta" we were rather surprised to see the walls occupied by a crowd of soldiers armed with matchlocks, a proceeding which was not quite in harmony with the friendly invitation given to us the day before. However, there was nothing to be done but to proceed, for it would never have done to show these people that we were afraid, and up we went accordingly, Mons. Féron and myself first. One of the secretaries received us at the gate, which had remained closed until we approached; and, taking our letter, he told us that he had to inform the chief official of our arrival before we could be allowed to enter. There were at least 400 to 500 soldiers collected on the walls, but they were quite friendly, and there appeared not the least sign of danger—they laughed and joked with us as the people always had been accustomed to do. As we cared little to pay a visit to the by no means clean-looking town, we told the official who had received us that we preferred taking a stroll about

the island, which was very pretty, and we parted on very good terms from each other. Our people had dispersed and roamed about the woods outside the town, while we proceeded on our walk to enjoy the beautiful scenery around.

Everything had passed off very pleasantly, and we were just thinking of returning to our steamer to get on board the "China," when one of our Manila-men ran up to us, and told us that one of the foreign sailors (the same fellow who had caused the delay on our march inland, and the only disreputable character we had with us) had taken advantage of our momentary absence, and, contrary to the strict orders issued beforehand, had laid hold of a calf grazing outside the city, with which he had tried to get down to the "Greta." Enraged at the fellow's impudence, we hurried down to the city, but found him already too far ahead to overtake him. "This will never do," I said to Mons. Féron; "the people on the walls will think the fellow had our consent for what he was doing, and we must tell them at all risk that he has done this without our knowledge and in direct disobedience to our orders, and also that he is sure to be severely punished for this act of violence. Mons. Féron consented at once, and suggested that in token of our disapproval, and until we were able to restore the stolen calf, we should tender some dollars to its owner. Accordingly we walked up to the city walls, and explaining the case to the assembled people and to the soldiery, we promised

not only to restore the calf but to have the man severely punished. We talked quite friendly to the people, who seemed to pass the matter off as a joke, but refused to accept the money offered, when, in the midst of our conversation, and without any apparent reason, a shot was fired from the angle of the wall above the city gate; this was followed by a second, a third, and a moment afterwards the whole line of soldiers from the wall opened fire upon us. The affair had taken place so suddenly and unexpectedly, that we were still standing only a foot or two distant without taking any alarm at this proceeding, when the cry suddenly arose, "They are firing at us!" and our men, losing all presence of mind at being thus attacked in the open, rushed to the shore where the "Greta" was anchored. And firing they were with a vengeance, for the gingall balls now fell thick and fast, hissing about our ears from all sides and ploughing up the ground around us. One of the first shots had killed one of our Manilamen outright; another fell down wounded; and we thought it high time now to think of our own safety, for it was past a joke to have nearly 500 soldiers firing at us as hard as they could. How we escaped the aim of these fellows has been a marvel to me ever since, but still we managed to retire slowly and without showing any hurry. On reaching our little steam tender, we found the fellow who had been the cause of the whole disaster already sufficiently punished for his unwarrantable conduct.

Though himself nearest to the boat he had been hit by a ball in the arm, which had passed from the shoulder-blade to the elbow. Deeply as we regretted the loss of the poor Manilaman, there was a general feeling of satisfaction that the perpetrator of the deed (the calf had of course scampered back as soon as the man had been wounded) had not escaped his share of the punishment, and when we had assured ourselves of the slight nature of the wound, which was more painful than dangerous, he received very little pity at our hands.

The firing continued unabated until we all got down to the steamer and had embarked, and it was only when we were seen to steam away that the city gate opened and the crowd ventured to show their faces outside the same.

This unforeseen accident of course put an end to all further proceedings. It was not likely that any of the officials would dare to appear again on board the "China," nor would it have been wise to repeat our visit on the island, where the soldiery had been maddened by their own firing and intoxicated by the effect of their treasonable conduct. The order was therefore given to prepare our departure for the following morning. In the evening, while we were discussing the events of the day, a deputation from our native crew, with the sekunny as spokesman, waited upon me with a curious request.

"Sir," he said, "those treacherous dogs have attacked us from behind their walls, while we stood

there doing harm to no one, and have killed our comrade. My countrymen and myself are resolved to avenge his death if you will give us permission to do so. Let us have the steamer, or some of the ship's boats; grant us leave to land, and we will engage to burn the whole nest, and give them a lesson they will not easily forget. We earnestly entreat you to let us go.

"My good friends," I replied, "no one can grieve more at the fate which has befallen your friend than myself. But we must not overlook that these people are little more than half-savages, and that they have been provoked by the unwarrantable act of a fellow who, I regret to say, is one of my countrymen. In the second place, we have not come here to make war upon the people, with whom we have no quarrel; and I should lay myself open to a great responsibility if I granted your request, and if any of your lives were sacrificed in such an attempt. Consider besides, supposing even you were successful, that the punishment would not fall upon the soldiers, who have fired upon us, but upon the innocent town-people, who had nothing to do with the affair. With my consent such a thing as you propose shall never be done, and you yourselves will see that I am right in withholding my permission when you have become more calm and collected.

It took a long time before we could make the men understand that what they asked could not be

done, and they retired at last only half satisfied, and grumbling that they were not permitted to avenge the death of their comrade. Nor do I entertain the least doubt they would have fired the place on all sides if their request had been granted.

Early the next morning the "China" steamed away from the scene of our late disaster and returned to Shanghai. Thus ended the third and last of my voyages to this remarkable country, which, to the shame of all western nations be it said, still remains a "forbidden land" up to the present day.

Preliminaries of the provisionary treaty (in English and French) submitted to and proposed to be signed by the Corean Government.

Art. I. The Government of the King of Corea declares its readiness to conclude treaties of amity, peace, and commerce, with the Great European Powers and the United States of America, upon the following bases:—

II. Ports and places of trade are to be opened to foreigners, on the west, east, and south coast of the kingdom, at Quensan, Tongnai, Sonto, and at Kangwha. The number and

position of any other ports to be opened is to be subject to special arrangements between the high contracting Powers.

III. The Government of the King of Corea is to issue proclamations to the people, immediately upon the signing of this provisionary treaty, to notify the conclusion of the same and to prepare the inhabitants to receive the foreigners friendly and amicably as soon as it enters into force.

IV. At all the ports opened to trade sufficient and convenient lots of land are to be set aside for foreign use by the Corean Government, for the purpose of erecting dwelling-houses, warehouses, and all necessary buildings. The selection and extent of the concessions to be granted is to be agreed upon between foreign officers specially appointed and the Government of Corea.

V. Foreigners of all nations are allowed to reside permanently only at the ports opened to trade, but they are to have liberty to travel freely into the interior of the country, either for business or pleasure, subject to the following restrictions:

1. Foreigners are not allowed to enter any Corean house, inns and public buildings excepted, unless they are specially invited by the master of the house.
2. They are to be furnished with passports

THE STEAMER "EMPEROR" AT ANCHOR AT KANG-WHA ISLAND, KANG-KIANG RIVER, W.C. OF COREA.

issued by the authorities of their respective nationality.

3. The customs and habits of the people must be respected, to avoid any unnecessary quarrels and disputes.

4. In the event of a foreigner violating the house of a noble, or if, without being injured by any Corean, he wounds or kills any of the people, the Corean authorities can have him arrested, to hand him over for punishment to his own authorities, and it shall be in the option of the Corean Government to demand the expulsion of any such person from the country. It is to be agreed and understood that the Government of the King of Corea can only be held responsible for any injuries done to foreigners by any of its subjects, by the strict carrying out of the above stipulations; and it charges itself to instruct all civil and military authorities to forward and protect all foreigners travelling in the country to the utmost of their power and abilities.

VI. The Christian Religion is allowed to be taught freely all over the kingdom, and its ministers, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, are at liberty to preach and spread the same wherever they think fit. They

are also permitted to erect and build churches, colleges and hospitals, and no Corean is to be harassed or persecuted on account of professing the Christian faith, nor are any converts to be forced to do aught interdicted by their new faith or to assist at the construction or repair of pagodas, &c. Nor are the local officials, or any private persons, under pain of severe punishment, permitted to molest or injure any native Christians or their families.

VII. Duty tariffs, to be levied on the import and export trade, are to be determined upon between the contracting Governments and that of the King of Corea, the tariffs now in use with China and Japan to serve as bases.

VIII. The foreign Governments are to nominate consuls or consular agents at all the open ports, who are to be specially charged with the jurisdiction, protection, and superintendence of their nationals. The contracting Powers are to have moreover the right to appoint envoys or ministers plenipotentiary, who are to reside in the capital (of Saoŭl), and who shall be able to communicate direct with the King and his Government, whenever the interests of the country they represent require such communication.

IX. Native servants are to be allowed to enter into the service of foreigners without hindrance or restrictions.

X. Foreigners are only to be liable to the laws of their country and subject to the courts established to that effect by their respective Governments. In case of disputes between foreigners and Coreans, foreigners can only be cited before their own tribunals, and Coreans before those of their country.

XI. The Government of the King of Corea engages to protect and to render all assistance in its power to any vessel which may be wrecked on the coast, or which may be obliged to take refuge in any Corean port on account of stress of weather; to treat all persons on board such ships in a friendly manner, and to furnish the crews of shipwrecked vessels with means of conveyance to the nearest station, whence they can effect their safe return to their country.

This engagement is to take effect and to enter into force from the date of the signing of this provisionary treaty, and the Corean Government undertakes to issue at once to all authorities on the coast and in the country notifications and instructions to this effect.

Foreign vessels shall also be at liberty

to hire and employ native pilots for entering and leaving port.

XII. Foreigners shall be free to import for their own use, and for trading purposes, any merchandize not contraband, on paying the stipulated duties thereon; and they shall also in the like manner be allowed to export any produce of the country, subject to the special regulations which may hereafter be framed. All goods imported by foreigners may be transported into the country by Coreans.

XIII. The importation of and the traffic in opium is strictly and for ever prohibited.

XIV. The Corean Government is to adopt at all open ports such measures which may be considered necessary for the prevention of fraud and smuggling.

XV. All foreign coin shall be current in the kingdom, and shall pass for its corresponding weight or value in Corean coin of the same kind.

Coins of all descriptions, as well as gold, silver, copper, or any other metal, uncoined or in bars, may be imported into and exported from the country free of duty.

XVI. The Government of the King of Corea reserves to itself the right to interdict or restrict any trade or commerce between foreigners and Corean subjects until special

treaties have been signed and ratified between foreign Powers and the same.

XVII. The Government of the King of Corea, anxious to prove its readiness and perfect good faith in entering into friendly and amicable relations with foreign nations, agrees and consents to send an embassy, consisting of high and duly accredited functionaries, to the Courts of the great European Powers and to the President of the United States of America.

XVIII. The object of this embassy is to transmit to the foreign Governments the assurance of the goodwill and of the friendship of the King of Corea, and to finally arrange and conclude the special provisions of treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, based upon the general stipulations as agreed upon in this provisionary treaty. The members of this embassy are to be provided for this purpose with full and complete powers, the Government of the King of Corea solemnly binding itself to accept and ratify at the proper time any treaty or treaties so concluded and agreed upon between its envoys and the foreign Governments.

The ambassadors are also to be invested with full powers to conclude treaties with such Governments, to which they are not specially accredited and which may be

desirous to enter into friendly cónnexion with Corea.

XIX. The tenor of the treaties is to be in the Chinese and Corean languages, and to be translated into the languages of the respective countries with which they are concluded.

XX. The ratification of the treaties so concluded is to take place within one year from the date of their having been signed between the Corean ambassadors and the contracting foreign Governments.

So done at the city of Kangwha, in the Kingdom of Corea, this

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Preliminaires d'un Traité provisoire, soumis et proposé au Gouvernement du royaume de Corée.

Bases.

Art. I. Un traité de paix, d'amitié et de commerce sera conclu entre les hautes puissances de l'Europe, les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord et le gouvernement de S.M. le roi de Corée.

II. Des ports seront ouverts sur les côtes Est, Ouest et Sud du royaume, à Quensan, Tongnai, Sonto et à Kangwha. Le nombre et

la situation des autres ports à ouvrir seront fixés plus tard par les hautes Puissances.

III. Immédiatement après la signature de ce traité provisoire, le gouvernement du roi de Corée le fera publier dans tout le royaume, ordonnant de recevoir amicalement les étrangers.

IV. Dans les ports ouverts au commerce, le gouvernement de Corée accordera aux gouvernements étrangers des terrains convenables et suffisants pour y faire des établissements—les limites des concessions seront fixées d'un commun accord entre les gouvernements respectifs.

V. Les étrangers résideront d'une manière permanente dans les ports ouverts au commerce seulement, mais pleine liberté leur est accordée de voyager dans l'intérieur du pays pour le commerce et d'autres motifs, aux conditions suivantes.

1. L'entrée de toute maison Coréenne, sauf les auberges et les édifices publiques, leur est absolument interdite, s'ils ne sont pas invités à entrer par le maître de la maison.
2. Ils seront munis de passeports delivrés par leurs autorités nationales.
3. Ils éviteront de froisser les usages du pays, pour ne pas causer des rixes regrettables.

4. Si un Étranger viole la maison d'un noble, ou, n'étant pas attaqué par les Coréens, il en blesse ou tue quelqu'un, le peuple pourra s'emparer de sa personne et le conduire aux autorités locales, qui en aviseront le gouvernement, lequel, outre les dommages intérêts, pourra réclamer l'expulsion du delinquant hors du royaume et même une peine plus sévère, s'il y a lieu. A ces conditions seulement le gouvernement Coréen peut être rendu responsable des injures faites aux étrangers—et il chargera toutes ses autorités civiles et militaires de les protéger, et de leur rendre tous les bons offices en leur pouvoir et nécessaires selon les circonstances.

VI. La religion Chrétienne est libre dans tout le royaume, ses ministres, soient Catholiques ou Protestants, pourront la prêcher partout, bâtir partout des églises, des colléges et des hospices. Aucun Coréen ne pourra être inquiété pour la profession du Christianisme, les Chrétiens indigènes ne pourront être constraints à aucun acte reprouvé par leur foi, à contribuer pour les actes superstitieux comme la construction et la réparation des pagodes—toute acte de persécution de la part des authorités ou de la part des particuliers à l'égard de leurs parents

ou voisins chrétiens sera sévèrement puni.

VII. Les réprésentants des gouvernements contractantes et ceux du roi de Corée fixeront d'un commun accord les droits à payer au roi de Corée, sur toutes les marchandises d'importation ou d'exportation, les tarifs acceptés pour le commerce avec la Chine et le Japon servant de base.

VIII. Les gouvernements étrangers auront dans tout les ports ouverts des consuls ou des agents consulaires, chargés de la protection spéciale et de la surveillance de leurs nationaux et accrédités à ce but au gouvernement Coréen, ils auront de plus le droit de nommer des envoyés extraordinaires ou ministres plenipotentiaires, qui auront leur résidence dans la capitale et communiqueront directement avec le roi et ses ministres, sur toutes les affaires qui regarderont les intérêts et la réprésentation de leur pays.

IX. Les étrangers pourront librement et sans restriction, prendre des Coréens à leur service.

X. Les étrangers seront soumis aux lois de leur pays et sous la seule jurisdiction des tribunaux nommés par leur gouvernement. En cas de litige entre Coréens et étrangers, chacun d'eux ne pourra être cité à com-

paraitre que devant les autorités de son propre pays.

XI. Si un navire étranger vient à faire naufrage sur les côtes de Corée, ou si la tempête le force à chercher un refuge dans les ports non ouverts au commerce, les autorités Coréennes le recevront amicalement et fourniront à l'équipage les moyens de se rendre à la station la plus voisine. Cet article sera publié et mis en vigueur immédiatement après la signature de ce traité provisoire.

Les navires étrangers auront toute liberté de se servir de pilotes indigénes pour l'entrée et la sortie des ports.

XII. Les étrangers peuvent importer, en payant les droits stipulés par le tarif, toute espèce de marchandise, sauf celles qui seront prohibées, et ces marchandises pourront être transportées librement dans l'intérieur du pays. Ils pourront aussi exporter les produits de la Corée, en se soumettant aux règles qui seront specifiées plus tard.

XIII. L'importation et le commerce de l'opium sont pour toujours et strictement prohibés.

XIV. Dans tous les ports ouverts, le Gouvernement Coréen adoptera les mésures qu'il jugera convenables pour empêcher la fraude sur les droits de douane.

XV. Toute espèce de monnaie étrangère aura

cours libre dans toute la Corée et sera reçu soit au poids, soit en valeur correspondante à la monnaie Coréenne.

Les monnaies de toute sorte, comme aussi l'or, l'argent, le cuivre et les autres métaux en ingots peuvent être importés, et exportés librement sans être chargés de droit de douane.

XVI. Le Gouvernement Coréen se réserve le droit d'empêcher tout commerce entre les étrangers et ses nationaux jusqu'à la ratification des traités speciaux, qui regulariseront ce commerce.

XVII. Le Gouvernement de Corée, désireux de montrer son empressement et sa bonne foi dans ses nouvelles relations avec les étrangers, s'engage à envoyer une ambassade de hauts personnages, specialement accrédités aux cours des principales puissances de l'Europe et au Président des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord.

XVIII. Le but de cette ambassade sera:

1. De porter aux gouvernements étrangers des assurances d'amitié de la part du roi de Corée.
2. D'arrêter et conclure definitivement les articles spéciaux des traités d'amitié et de commerce, auxquels les stipulations générales de ce traité provisoire serviront de base.

Pour cet effet les ambassadeurs Coréens seront munis de pleins pouvoirs, le gouvernement Coréen s'engageant solennellement à accepter et ratifier les traités conclus par ses envoyés. De plus, en outre de pouvoirs généraux, les ambassadeurs Coréens pourront conclure des traités semblables avec les autres gouvernements auprès desquels ils ne seront pas spécialement accrédités, et qui désireront entrer en relations amicales avec le gouvernement de la Corée.

XIX. Les traités seront écrits en Chinois et en Coréen, et traduits dans la langue de chacune des hautes parties contractantes.

XX. La ratification des traités aura lieu dans l'espace d'un an, à partir de la date de la signature par les hautes puissances contractantes.

Si fait à la ville de Kangwha, dans le royaume de Corée,

CHART
of the
SOUTH-WEST APPROACHES
to
THE SÉOUL RIVER

drawn up by order of

REAR ADMIRAL ROZE, FRENCH NAVY

by

E. BOCKET, Capt^ne DU FRÉGATE

KANG-HOA ISLAND

MARIE FORTUNÉE

ARCHIPELAGO

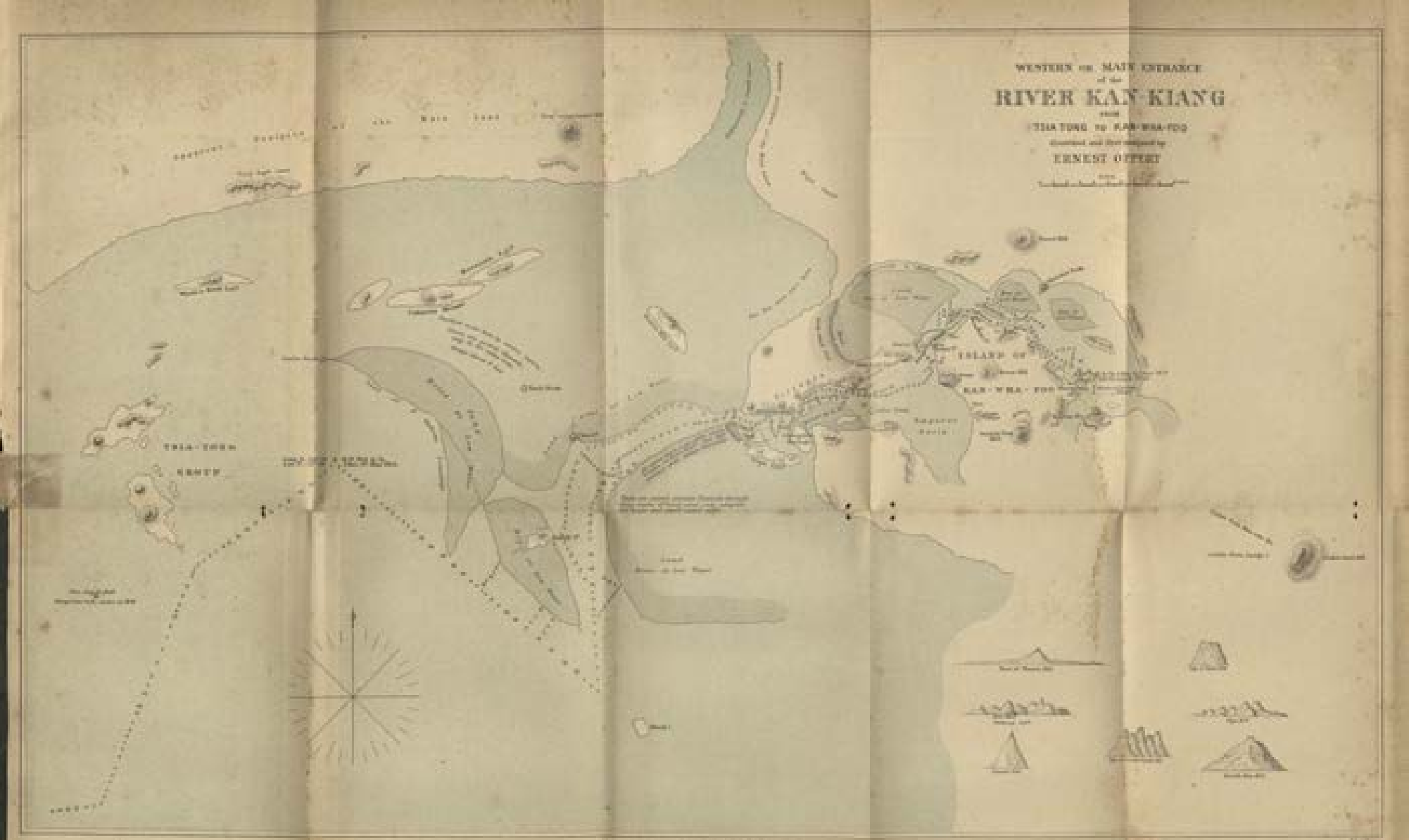
YELLOW SEA

IMPÉRATRICE GULF

PRINCE IMPERIAL ARCHIPELAGO

CRATERIFORM BANK

PRINCE JEROME GULF


WESTERN OR MAIN ENTRANCE
of the
RIVER KAN-KIANG
from
TSIA-TUNG to KAN-WHA-FOO
Examined and Surveyed by
ERNEST OPPERT
ISLAND OF
KAN-WHA-FOO
TSIA-TUNG
ISLAND

APPENDIX.

VOCABULARY.

1	hăn
2	tu
3	sjök, sök
4	nök
5	tasăs, tăsăt
6	jösăs, jösŭt
7	nörkop, nirkop
8	jötälp
9	a hop
10	jör
100	păik
1000	ts'jön
10,000	man
10,000,000	ök
to be able	nŭng hăr
to investigate	săr p'ir
written character	kurtsă / höik
beginning	ts'ö öp
to know	ar
to count	sém, hem
number	suku sum
to know	orŭr
to penetrate / to understand	sămăts'ar
heaven	hanăr
cover	tö p'ŭr
earth	sta, tta
contents	sircĭr
to distribute	nŏn hŭr
rank	pjö săr
east	long-njök
west	sjö njök
south	nam njök
north	puk njök
above	us
beneath	arăi
middle	ka on tăi
outside	pas, pat
left	wir
right	orur, orhŭr
in front	ap, arp
behind	tui
side	kas, kjöt
corner	mo, morongi
inside, within	sok, an
sun	nar
moon	tor, tăr
light	pi ts'öir
to come down / to descend	lim, hăr
star	pjör
range	pör, per
to arrange	pör, per
spring	pör (?) pom
summer	jö rŭm, njörum
autumn	kă ăr
winter	kjö or, kjö ŭ
warmth	tö ur
cold	sŏ rŭr, sö nŭr

frost	ts'ăr
heat	tö ur
wheel	pak hui
rotation	ku ŭr
circle	kor hwa? kor whi
return	tor, tora or
series	pö kum, ts'ă te
time	stăi
section	mă tăi
noon	nas, nat
night	pam
morning	ats'ăm
evening	tse njök [light)
day-break	sai pe, sape (new
to-morrow	i t'an nar
yesterday	ö tse
morning dawn (twilight)	a ts'ăm
evening dawn (twilight)	tsjö mŭr
dark, dusky	ötu ur
decade	jör hŭr
full moon	po rom
decrease of the moon	kŭmŭm [hă ră
new moon	ts'o hă ro, ts'o
serene	kair
covered, veiled	păik păik hăr
bright	păr kŭr
union	sap'ir
spreading	pe p'ur
change	kăr mă tŭ rir
to make	tsi ŭr
wind	părăm
rain	pi
hoar-frost	söri
dew	i sŭr
ice	örŭm
snow	nun
hailstone	mu lui
smoke	nai
clouds	kurum
fog	an kăi, ankai
thunder	ure
lightning	pön kăi
thunder-stroke	pjök-ljök

rainbow	mutsi-ke
dryness, aridity	kămŭr
period	kwi-un
to alter	kots'ir
to change	pas kor
shade	kŭnŭr, kŭrŭr
light	pjös, pjöt
together	sörŭ sŏră
to alternate	kărmă tŭrir
year	hăi
calendar	ts'aïk ljök
light green, azure	p'urŭr
yellow	nu rŭr
red	pŭrkŭr
white	hwïn
bluish, green	p'ŭrŭr, p'ărŭr
dark grey, black	ka? (kö) măr, kömŭr
purple	pŭr kŭr
to light, to shine	pis nar
to glitter, to shine	pi ts'nïr
altogether, jointly	mus mut
colors	pis, pit
mountain	moi, mois
river	nai
brook	si nai
top of a mountain	mois pong ori
ridge of a mountain	moispuri, tutön
hill	öntök
rock	pahwi
tree	namo
shrubbery, thicket	sup'ŭr
source	săiam, săim
vault, valley, grotto, cleft	kor
pond	mos, mot
field	tŭr
pool, puddle	mos, mot
acre, rice-field	pas, pat
a high, flat field	tu, tön
water	mur
fire	pŭr
ashes	tsăi
dust	t'ŭikŭr, t'ŭiskŭr

sand	morai
stone	tor
mud	tsun hŭrk
earth	hŭrk, hărk
sea	pata
island	sjöm
stream, bay, lake	mur (water)
banks	mur kăs, mur kă
creek	kai
flood	mir mur
wave, billow	mur kjör, mur skjör
conjunction	niŭr
succession	put'ăr (?) puts'ir
stormy	atŭk hăr (dread-
plant, herb	p'ŭr [ful)
bird	sai
animal	tsŭm săing
every	kak
has	isir
name	irhom
grass	tsi ts'o
roses	tsgang mi
bamboo	tai
reed, cane	kar
lotus	ljön hoa
water lily	marăm
moss	iski
branch	katsi
twig	ŭri
root	pŭrwi
stalk	tsurki
flower	kos, kot
leaf	nip
fir-tree	sor
mulberry-tree	spong namo
willow	pötŭr
timber	tsăi mok
to serve	psŭr, psö
tools	kăt săr [hoa
peach	pok sjo a, pok sjóng
apricot	sărko
pear	păi
chestnut	pam
prune	wijas, wiăt
orange	kam tsă
lemon	ju tsă
pomegranate	sjök lju
chinese pear	mös, möt
nuts	kai jam
sweet	tăr
sour	sŭir
fruit	jörŭm, koa sir
much, many	manhar, hŭr
kinds	katsi
rice	pjö
millet, hirse	kitsang, koi tso
wheat	mir
barley	pori
caljang-beans	tu
soya-beans	k'ong
green corn (seed)	um
to pluck out	spair
tax, duty	kong
to ripen, to mature	nior (?), nikur
to name, to be called	nirŭr
these	kar
corn, grain	kok sjök (?) koksik
onion	p'a
ginger	săing kang
garlic	manăr
leek	pu ts'ăi
mustard seed	ke tsă
flexible, pliant	putŭ röŭr
bamboo sprouts	tsjiuk sjun
fragrancy	hjang kwi
vegetables	ts'wi, năm ăr
productive, fertile	p'ung sjöng
mushrooms	pö săs, pösŭt
melon	wi
celery	minari
to eat	mö kŭr
fragrant	hjang kwi
new, fresh	sai
a fabulous bird	lantjo
a phœnix	pung tjo / p'ong hŏang
swân	ko hai
mew, sea gull	kăr mjöki
pelican	hansai
heron	hăi horapi
wild duck	ta waki

wild goose	kikŏki
duck	ori
crane	tŭrŭmi, turumi
dove	pitărki, pi tŭrki
nightingale	kŏiskori, kŏitkori
swallow	sjö (?) (tsjö-) bi
sparrow	ts'ăm sai
falcon, hawk	măl, sjoroki
eagle	suri
fowls	tărk
pheasant	skwöng
raven	kama kŏi
pie, magpie	kats'i
owls	puhöngi
lark	tsang kjöng
wagtail	pöpsai
to nest, to nestle	kistŭrir, kittŭrir
chickens	saski, satki
egg	ar
hen	su
male, cock	am
pregnant	păir
to breed	nahŭr
wings	năr kai
to fly	năr
beak	puri
to pick	tso ŭr
namely	ië
to call	irk'arăr
plumage	tsis, tsit
flock	kjŏr e
a fabulous unicorn	kwi rin
bear	kom
tiger	pöm
rhinoceros	mu sjo
elephant	k'o kăi ri, k'o k'i ri
wolf	ir hi
panther	p'jo pöm
deer, roe	no ro
stag	sasŭm, sasăm
ape	tsăin napi
dog	sărk
fox	jö ho (?) jö ŭ
hare	t'o ski, t'otki
otter	murkai
cattle	sjo
horse	mar
camel	jak tai
foal	ma-atsi
calf	sjo-atsi
ass	na kwi
mule	rosai
lamb	njöm (jöm) sjo
sheep	jang
sucking pig	tos
pig	tos
little dog	kai
cat	koi
mouse	sui
hoof	kup
claws	t'op
horn	spŭr
tail	skori
to take	patăr, patŭr
to live	nar
to separate, to regulate	kupjŏr hăn
different	tarŭr
to sing, to roar	ur
to bark	tsŭr tsŭr
to run	tărrir, tărnir, tărŭr
also	stŏ
hairy	t'ŏ rŏk
tribe	muri
dragon	miri, mirŭ
tortoise	köpok
fish	ko ki
shrimp	ke
crab	sai ju, saio
shell	tjo kai, kum tjo kai
snail	sora, sjora
scale	pinar
strange	koi i hăr
form	hjöng sang
to shun	sŭr hŭr
to fly	tomang
hook, fishing-rod	karkuri
net	kŭ mŭr
bee	pör
butterfly	napwi

glowworm	pan tai, panto
cricket	kwistorami
dragon fly	tsăntsari
snake	pai jam
worm	tî rjongi, kujin
toad	tu t'öp i
frog	kai kuri, kai kori
gnat	mo kwî
fly	p'ari
caterpillar	tsa tsai
spider	kö mŭi
silkworm	nuë
ant	kajami
flea	pjörok
louse	ni
small	tsjö kŭr
insects	pöre, pero
in	nŭr
all	motŭr
class	muri
only	o tsik
man	sarăm
lord	nim
realm	ŋara
house, family	tsip
prince	nim kŭm
subject	sinha
nobleman	ku wi
officer	pjö săr, pjö sŭr
soldier	sjön pai
people	păik sjöng
boy	atŭr (child)
girl	kjötsip
old	nŭrkŭr
young	ŏrir
child	ăhăi
old man, grandfather	harapi
guest	son
messenger, ambassador	pŭrir
servant	năŭr
friend	pös, pöt
teacher	sŭsŭng
monk	tsjung
nun	kjötsip-tsjung

magician	mutang
physician	wi uön
distinguished, high	no p'ŭr
low	natsar
palace, temple, dwelling of a prince	tsip (house)
functionary	pjösăr, kuwi
magistrate	maor, maăr
magazine	to'angko, kostsip
arsenal	ko
Buddha temple	pu t'jö-tsjör
way, road	kir
citadel	tsai, tsas
market	tsjötsai (?) tsjötse
bridge	tări
ladder	satări
channel	kăi ts'jön
gate	li mun
well	u mŭr
neighbourhood	nuis, iut
village, street	măŭr, măăr
capital	sjö ŭr, sjö ur
pasture, shepherd	mok tsjang
department, district	koŭr, koor
village	măăr
post	jök
inn	tsip (house)
ship	păi
sails	păi tos (tos, tŏt, a mat
oar	tostăi tottai (mast)
tribute	pat'ir, patts'ir
taxes	puse
to heap	kwö ki
to gather	motăr, motŭr
this	ji
his	ku
old, formerly	ne
now	jitse
emperor	nemkŭm
king	nemkŭm
town	motŭr

circuit	koŭr, koor
father	api
mother	ömi
elder brother	măs, măt
younger brother	ao aă
husband	tsiapi
wife	anhăi, an hăi
elder sister	măs, măt, nuwi
younger sister	nuwi, aă nuwi
grandmother	har api (grandfather)
grandchild	son tsa
uncle	atsapi
cousin	tsok ha
brother-in-law	sŭi api
sister-in-law	sŭi ömi
married woman	injö nari
son-in-law	sa hŏi
man servant	tsjong
maid servant	kjötsip tsong
concubine	ts'jöp
all	ta
I, mine	na
family connexion	kuön sjok
head	möri (?) mari
crown of the head	tjöng paki
forehead	nima
eyebrows	nun söp
eye	nun
ear	kui
face	năs, năt
mouth	ip
nose	k'o [hu
throat	mok ku möng, jin
tongue	hjö
lips	ip siur
teeth	ni
the hair at the temples	kui mis
the hair at the top of the head	t'ö rök
cheek	spam
chin	t'ök (?) t'ăk
hand	son
fist	tsu mö kui
finger	son harak
mustachios	naros, narot
beard	njoïn
throat	mok
back, spine	tŭng
breast	kasăm
side, both sides	kjötŭ rangi
shoulders	öske, ötke
the arm	p'ăr
navel	păi kop, păis kop
loins	höri
belly	pai
knee	murrop, murup
leg	tari
foot	par
skin	sŭr, katsok (hide)
bones	spö, spjö
strength	him
liver	kan
bowels	ai
blood	p'i
veins	măik
sweat	stam
saliva	ts'ŭm, ts'um
tears	nunmur
this	ji
mine	na
body	mom
court-house	maro (?) pang
a double storied house	tarak
a flat roof	tăi
a tent	tsjang mak
hut made of reeds	stui tsip
bricks	kiwa, tsi sai
board	njör (passage) p'antsă
plaited door	sarip
wall	pun, parăm
beam	kjö kări, sjö
arch	tŭr po, tŭrs po
post, pillar	ki tong
railing	lan kan
window	ts'ang
door	tsi ke
porch	mun
yard	stŭr

staircase	söm
kitchen	puok
stable	maku wi jang
stone wall	tam
fence	urs öp
consist, to be	hăr
to dwell	sar
place	kos
mat	kitsŭrk
bamboo mat	sas, sat
straw or reed mat, mattress	tos, tot
bamboo, Venetian	par
curtain	tsjang
screen	pjöng p'ung
bamboo sticks	tsok tsă
bedstead	sang
frame	săi, röng
staff	mak tai
wooden shoes	kjötsi
little bench	toma
table	sjöan
lantern	tung tsan
light, candlestick	tsjok
a kind of guitar	kömun ko kăi jakko
a flute	saing
fife	tjö
chessboard	patok
comb	pis, pit
looking-glass	kö ur
cushion, bolster	pjö ke
fan	pufs'e
paper	tsjo hwi
china ink	mök
paint brush	pus, put
china inkstand	pjöro
writing	kŭr uör
volume	ts'aik
roll	kuön
rule	re şă pöpsik
retrospect	tora-par
look, glance	hŭr rjö-por
gold, ore	soi, (swi)
silver	ŭn
copper	kuri
tin	tsju sjök
pearl	ku săr
jade	ku săr, ok
an emblematic stone	mo nan ok
brocade silk	kum sjön
silk embroideries	pitan
checked silk	pitan
silk gauze	kip
coarse silk	mjön tsju
muslin	pöi
jewel	tsai mur
penny	ton
articles of jewelry	po păi
a pair	p'ir
tissue	pitan, kip
beautiful	ărăm ta or
good	tjo hăr
a kind of hemp	mosi
hemp	sam
silk thread, thread	sir
cotton chintz	so opi
colour felt carpet	tam
one coloured felt carpet	tsjön
fat	kirŭm
oil	kirŭm
honey	skur
ingredients for rice-beer	nurok
wax	mir
glue	kas p'ur
varnish	os
rice	psăr
flour	karo
provisions	ljang sik
stuff	ljo
like	ös ti
not	anir
very	ka tsjang [tant)
necessary	tsung jo (impor-
(cup) dish	pari
winecup	tsan
a small cup (basin)	sapar, tsawan (tea cup)
spoon	sur

plate	pan
barrel	sur tsjun
vase	pjŏng
earthenware dish	hang
pot	ong
jug	pjŏng
tub	tsju tsə
tripod vase	sos, sot
kettle	kama
dish-cover	sirci
a match	pjŏng mat
bushel	toi
tenth part of a bushel	mar
scoop	pak
sieve	ts'e
loom	t'ŭr
spool	puk
coal	sus, sut
firepot	hoa ro
iron	sŏi
mortar	hwak
basket	long
vessel, to hold	ham
to hide	tsjang
little box	k'i
shovel	k'i
straw basket	kori, kwang tsori
straw box	sjang tsă
straw bag	sjang tsă
axe	to ts'ăi
sickle	nas, nat
saw	t'op
chisel	skur
file	tsur
gimlet	song kos, song kot
needle	pan ăr
knife	k'ar
foot	tsja
bow	hwar
arrow	sar
sword	k'ar
hoe	ho mŭi
spade	sap
hand plough	stapŭi
Chinese plough	posip

bell	soi puk (gong)
drum, kettle drum	puk
sound	tsăing
gong	kjŏng tsă
many fold	söskŭr, sötkir
tools, utensils	kŭrus
rice-beer	sur
boiled rice	pap
hashed meat	hŏi
cake	stök
meat	koki (fish)
soup	kuk
salt	sokom
to cook	pap tsiŭr
to stew	stir
to boil	sărmur
to ferment	pitsŭr
to prepare	pörir
arrange	pöp'ŭr, pep'ŭr
to present	ipatar
to nourish	ts'ir
side dish	pan ts'an
a meal	ts'a pan (tea and rice)
already	iwi (?) imwi
excellent	arăm ta or
tea	ts'a
together	kjöm hăr
to offer	i patar
dress	os, ot
fur coat	kas os, kas ot
cloak	os (?) top'o
shirt, jacket	tsjök sam
petticoat	tsjung wi
apron	ts'ima
dressing gown	tsar-nipŭr
cap	kwan, mo, samo (silk cap)
belt	stwi
straw or reed hat	kas, kat
socks	po ajön
leather shoes	sin
short boots	huë, huë tsă
children's shoes	ăhaĭ sin
saddle	kirma, kirŭma
bridle, bit	kure

carriage	sur răi, sur rui
cover	tö p'ur
riding-whip	ts'ai
seal	in
bookcase	tsja ro
scabbard	k'ar-tsip
bag	tsju mö in
hairpin, to fasten caps	pin hjö
garments	nipur
ornament	sku mir
splendour	pis
sparkling	pis nar
figure	örkur
heart, mind	mă ăm
conduct, behaviour	hăing kir
soul	stŭs, stŭt
disposition (of character)	t'jön sjöng
passion	stŭs, stŭt
sound	sjöng
rhyme	un
echo	uri ir
footsteps	tsa tso 'öi
shade	kŭrim
talent	tsai tso
virtue	k'ŭn
understanding mind	sŭr kwi, tsi he
bravery	nar năir, năr nair
decency	retos (?) reto
honesty	ŭrhŭr, orhŭr
filial love	hjo to
veneration	kong kjöng
word, language	marsăm, mari
judgment	martsăr hăr
talk	marsăm
to see	por
to hear	tŭrŭr turnir
to look	por
to listen	tŭrŭr
to administrate	pjö săr
to rein in	tsik ham
sex, family	kak si
fortune, blessing	pok
income	lok
long life	mok sum
wise	ötsir
stupid	örir
good	tsar hăr
bad	mo tsir
fat	săr tsir
thin, meagre	jö wir
strong	kang hăr
weak	jak hăr
rich	ka ăm jör
distinguished, noble	kui hăr
poor	kanan hăr
lowly	ts'jön hăr
dissipation	sja ts'i
avarice	kömso, kömpak
hatred	mŭi or, mui or
love	sărang
affection	un-he
dislike	uön sju
pleasure	kis kŭr, kit kŭr
wrath	no hăr
melancholy	kum sim
merriment	tsŭr kir
to sit	an tsŭr
to lie	nu ŭr
to get up	nir
to stand	sjör
to advance	na a ŭr, naor
to retreat	murnökar, murŭr
to go out	năr
to come in	tŭr
to ascend	o rŭr
to descend	nărir
to bend one's head	ku pŭr
to lift one's head	ur ör
to kneel	skur
to throw oneself down	öp twir
to bow	tsjör, tsör
to greet with the hand	ŭp hăr
to run	tă rŭr
to march, to step	kö rŭm
to follow	ptărŭr, stărŭr

to drive	ptso ts'ar, sstso ts'ar
to trip	stuir
to rear, to prance	năr
to stamp	părpur
song	norai
dance	ts'um, ts'ur
to whistle	p'a răm
to sing	ŭr p'ŭr
sorrow	sŭr p'ŭr
to lament	ur
to cry	ur
to fall asleep	tso ŭr, tso ăr
dream	skŭm
keep	tsar
to eat	mö kŭr
to drink	ma sir
to chew	psi pŭr, ssi pŭr
respiration	sum tŭrir
breath	purŭr (sound)
to sing	
to cry	
to call out	„
to blow	pur
to blow on	„
to swallow	săm k'ir
to spit	piăt'ŭr, t'ohăr
that one	tjö, tsjö
I	nai, na
self	sŭs ăni (?) sŭ sŭre
another	tarŭr
thou	nö
who	nuku
somebody	amo
leisure	hanka
occupation	sim ts'ok kar
exertion	kăs pur, sjuko roŭr
rest	p'jön an
drunk	ts'jui hăr
sober	skăir
to hunger	tsu rir
to satisfy	păi pŭrăr
noise	p'ŭrner ? suttu örir
laughter	usăm (?) uum
banquet	tsăn ts'ăi
walk	nor, norir
to shoot	ssor
to chase, to hunt	san hăing
to fish	nakkŭr, naskŭr koki tsapŭr
fishing-rod	raksi, naksi
to plough	paskar, patkar
agriculture	nong să
to plant	simor, tsăi sik
seed	psi, ssi
to mow	puir
to bind together, to join	muk kur
to knock, to thrash	tu tăriŭ
to offer, to present	patts'in, pat'ir
to hold	kalsir
to render	torakar
to return	tofaor
to lead	könărir
until	nirŭr
to head	kö nărir
to reach, to arrive	nirŭr
to wash	ssi sŭr
to strike (a string)	t'ar
to swing	stö ts'ir, ptöo ts'ir
to squirt, to spatter	spurir (to spout)
to sweep	ssur
to study	păi hor
to exercise	nikir
to read	nirkŭr
to repeat by heart	wirir
to instruct	kără ts'ir
subjugation	tsin tjöng
garrison	makŭr (to hinder)
to regulate	tas kŭr, tat kŭr
to make, to build	tsi ŭr
to create, to begin	pira sŭr, piro săr
to fabricate	tsi ŭr (manage)
to drive over	könnör (to
to save	kön tir, kön tsir, ku hăr

alive	'sat'ur
to give a hand, to support	pus tŭr, put ŭr
to protect	ho wi
to assist	to ŭr
to help	to ŭr
to frighten	nor, nar (to get frightened)
to move	nŭs kir, nŭtkir
to abhor	ts'a, t'an
to think of	saing kak
to sigh for, to long for	kŭrir
benevolence	un he
to spread	pe 'pŭr
to requite, to reward	kap p'ŭr, kap hŭr
illness	pjöng
to burn	kuŭr (stum tsir)
to heal	pjöng tjo hŭr
to suffer patiently	tsă mŭr
bitter	măior (?) ssŭr
sharp	ssŭr (?) măior
to taste, to try	maspor, matpor
abyss, danger	hjöm hăr
to prevent	makhir, makŭr
difficulties	hjöm tso
ramification	kwi or
crooked	kiu röt'ir, kiu rötsir
to complete, to supply	ki or
scanty, deficient	itsŭ rötir, itsŭ rötsir
union	niŭr
interruption	skŭn ts'ŭr? skŭn hŭr
to pity	öjös pŭr, öjöt pur
affli tion	kŭn sim
to rejoice	tsŭr kir
merry	kis kŭr, kit kŭr
not	annir (?) anir
to leave (behind)	ki t'ir, kits 'ir
to forget	ni tsŭr
to wish	nön hăr
to expect	kwij ak
truth	tsjöng, sjöng
absolutely	kan (?) (ir) tsjör
oath	maing sjö
prayer, request	pir
fasting, fast	tsăi ke
sacrifice	tse să
burnt offering	ts'jo re
to offer	tŭrir
to sacrifice	ts'jön kö
to receive	pastŭr, pattŭr
to accompany	moi sir
to serve	ho ui
fear	tsö hăr
dread, anxiety	turir
doubt	wi sim
shame	pus kŭrir
to be ashamed	put kŭrir
to boast	tsjarang
to renounce	să jang
to decline	sa jang
to shun	p'i hăr
return	öptö tir
slowly	naro jŏ
delay	nit sŭr
to flutter	narrir (?) purrir
mad	mit'ir, mits'ir
majestic	wi wi
quiet	tsăm tsăm
to think	săing kak
in advance	mon tsjö
to note	kwi rok
reason, cause	tsim tsit
to have at heart	p'u mur
past (things that are past)	ne
to remember	săing kak
old things, something old	ne
to inquire	sang ko
to ask	mu rŭr
true	'ts' am
false	kötsŭs, tötsŭt
to press, to investigate	mir

to distinguish	kăr hăir
bent, crooked	kopŭr, kupŭr
straight	kotăr, kotŭr
to go along	kar
to come back	tora or
to go	kar
to come	or
to go through	tinăr
to cross over	tinăr
to remain	mö mur
to follow	tso ts'ăr, stso ts'ar
to be set against	ö kwir
obedient	sjun hăr
resisting	kö sŭr, kö sarir
to quarrel	tă t'or, tatŭr
to rob	a sŭr
to fight	ssa hor
to cover	tö p'ŭr
to put up a wall of partition	mak hir
to veil	kari ur
enclosed, walled in	ë ur
to pass	nö mur, kön nör
to wade through, to cross	kön nör
to scold	skuti stŭr
to covet, to be avaricious	as kir
envy	purör, purö hăr
jealousy	sai ŭm, t'u kwir
to spy	jös por, jöt por
to observe	sărp 'ir
turned to	hjăng hăr
to wait	kităr ir
to assign	tsön hăr
to forbid	kjöng ke
to call, to invite	purŭr
to mislead	tarnăir
to repent	nui u ts'ŭr, nui ut ts'ur
to hate	han hăr
to stare	purop stŭr
to pant, to breathe heavily	spum ŭr

to assemble	motăr, motŭr
to meet	man nar
to answer (it answers)	ŭng hăr
to answer	tai tap
to return (an answer)	kap p'ŭr
to drink wine	ts'im tsjak
to seize	ka tsir
to let loose, to drop	părir, parir
bawd	tsjung măi
dŏwry	ping p'e
entering the house of the bridegroom, as bride	sŭi tsip kar sjö pang mats'ir
to take a wife	tsjangka tŭrir
to cast lots	tsjöm pok
to condole	tjo mun
to congratulate	hare
to give, to present with	tsur
to surrender	pu t'ir
to seal	pong har
to tie	măir
to envelope	psăr, ssăr
to spill, to shed	puŭr
to stream, to flow	hŭrŭr
dim	hŭrir
to scoop, to draw	kirŭr
to water	tsö tsăr, tsö tsŭr
to burn	sarŭr
to burn to ashes	sarŭr pur pur t'ŭr
to roast	tarir tar hir
to cut	kar kir kărkir
to cut out, (dresses)	marŭr, mărăr
to melt	tan rjön
to cut down, to chop off	pöhir, pehir
to trim, to attire	tsang sik, tsan tsang hăr
painting, ornament	ts 'ăi săik

drawing	kŭrim
to examine	sarp 'ir
diligence	putsă rön hăr
merit	kang njök
idle	keörŭr
to behold	por
to watch, to guard	tik k'wir tsik hwir
to inspect	por
to examine daily	jir kwa
to exhaust	kung hăr
to finish	mats'ăr
to cease	pa hăr
to come together	mas năr, mannăr
to separate	jö hir
to control (oneself)	metăr, motŭr
to disperse	hŭtt'ŭr
to go, to meet	matsŭr
to accompany	po năin
parting dinner	tsjön song
to console	ŭi ro
alone, single	hŭs, hut, hŭr hoor
an orphan	wi rŏ or
a widow	tsjö kŭr (little)
to count upon	pikir
to lean upon	witsi hăr
to depend on	him nipŭr
to buy	sar
to sell	p'ăr
to bet	naki
to exchange	paskur, patkor
to seek	ku hăr
to request	ts'jöng hăr
to beg	pir
to lend	skŭr
addition	tö hăr
to add, to augment	tö hăr
double	tasi
to repeat	tasi
also	sto tto
again	tu, tu or
to pull	is kŭr, it kŭr
to drive	mor
to draw	skŭŭr? skŭrŭr
to guide	into hăr

to carry	
on the shoulder	mer
on the arm	anŭr
on the back	tsir
on the head	nis
to drive in a car	sirŭr
tired	is pur, it pur
to rest	suir
to disclose	kŭrŭr
to undress, take off	pŏ sŭr
to put the hand upon	măntsir
to touch	tötŭ mŭr
to gather (together)	tötŭr
to take hold, to climb	pattŭr, tsa pŭr
to break off	stökur, stökkŭr
to pick	stăr
to nip off	k'air kăir
to collect	pörir
to grind	kar, kăr
to perforate	stu rŭr
to thread	sku er
to hang up	tăr
to bind to	măir
to fasten	sko tsŭr
to hang	kör
to shake	st'i t'ir? ptör ts'ir
to waver	hŭn tŭr
to tear up	soa hir
to lift up	tŭr
to beat	t'ir ts'ir
to swing	turŭr
to prick	tirŭr tsirŭr
to lift	is kŭr, it kŭr
to take hold	tsa pŭr
to throw	tö tir, tö tsir
dismiss	nohŭr
to cast away	părir
this	ji, i
there, place	kos, kot
generation	inkan
space	săi

to meddle with	mö kŭ mŭr
animated	ljöng hăr
to move about	umtsă kir
to stand still	ku ts'ir
grand, tall	kŭn
small	tsjö kŭr
broad	nö pŭr, nö rŭr
narrow	tso pŭr
pair	tu
only	oro
half	pan
together	ă or, aor, aŭr
one upon another	jörö
to unite	mo tăr, motŭr / hap hăr
ball	t'an tsă
duty (customs)	mă tăi, ts'i
a stripe	tso kak
a piece	tso kak
to dip into	mŭr mŭr
to wash	ts'o ts'ŭr
to dry	mărŭr, măr roi ir
to wet	tsö tsŭr
clear	mărkăr, mărkŭr
dim, muddy	hŭrir
cold	ts 'ăr
warm	töŭr? töur
high	no p'ŭr, no p'ăr
low	nătsăr
deep	kip 'ŭr
shallow	jöst'ŭr, jott'ŭr
easy, light	kapăi jaor
heavy, weighty	mukö or
thick	tu t'öŭr
thin	jörŭr
full	ts'ăr, kătŭk hŭr
empty	puir
disturbance	ötsu? ötsŭ roor
tranquillity	kojo
otherwise, different	tarăr, tanăr, tarŭr
of the same kind	kăt'ăr
to disturb	ökŭrö tsir
contrary to	turu hir
corner, square	mo, morongi
round	tung kur
long	kir, kin
short	tsjö rŭr
coarse	kurkur, kŭrkŭm
fine	kanăr, kănăr
grand	k'ur, k'un
petty	kănăr
all the same	hănkatsi
source, origin	kŭn uön
similar	kăt'ăr
wild, desolate	kö ts'ŭr
bare	mŭir
to sprout	p'uir
to bloom	spajönar
to fall	störö tir? tsir
far	mör
near	kaskaor, katkaor
nearly related	ts 'inhăr
outwards	söng kwir
slowly	tö tăir, tö tŭir
hasty	spărŭr, spărăr
quick, early	jrăr
late	nŭtsŭr, nitsŭr
occasionally	pjönhar
incessantly, often	tsătsăr
rarely	tŭmŭr
useful	rihăr
pernicious	hăi hăr
existence	isir
non-existence	öpsŭr, öpsăr
happy	kirhăr
unhappy	hjung hăr
to get	ötur
to loose	irhăr, irhŭr
to diminish	tör
to disappear, dissolve	săr̆ă tsir
to destroy	söi tsjan
to heap	psair
to overshoot	töhăr, namăr, namŭr
to flow over	nöm stŭir
to overflow	nömŭr
without	öpsăr
limited	ha tsjöng hăr
of long duration	orir
long	kir

durable	kutăr
of short duration	tsam kan, tsam skan
suddenly	muntŭk
to smash	păatsir, skăihir
to prejudice	itsŭrŏ tsir
to want (need)	öpsăr p'iptsin hăr
in a high degree, very	sim hăr
in a small degree	tsömŭr
secret	sumŭr
evident	poir
afloat	stŭr, ptŭr, ttŭr
to sink	tsăm kir
across, sideways	piskir, pitkir
oblique, slope	kiur
to stoop	kupur
to stretch	pjör, pep'ur
to extend	mas ts'ăr? mi ts'ăr
to draw together, to contract	ts'ur
to open	jör
to shut	tatăr, tatŭr
passage	samo ts'ar
hindrance	makhir
just, even	p'jöng har
right	paror
repose	p'jön an
alteration	pjön hăr
transformation	tŏi
removing	omkir
end	mats'ăm
beginning	pi rŭ săr, piro săr
basement	mis, mit
summit	skŭs, skŭt
to disappear	sŏi hăr
to arise	ŭs tŭm
to extend	man han hăăr
to clip	skak kŭr
an affair	ir
with	tö pŭr, tamot
a thing	kös, köt
conclusion	ipki, ipke.

Corean Alphabet, Letters

Vocales

Writing		Print
1	a	ㅏ
2	ǐa	ㅑ
3	ô, ö	ㅓ
4	iô, iê	ㅕ
5	e	ㅔ
6	je	ㅖ
7	o	ㅗ
8	io	ㅛ
9	û	ㅜ
10	iû	ㅠ
11	ŭ	ㅡ
12	ǐ	ㅣ
13	à	ㆍ

Consonantes.

Aspiratae Writing		Print	Lenes Writing		Print
1	kh	ㅋ	7	k, kiok	ㄱ
2	th	ㅌ or ㄷ	8	n, niun	ㄴ
3	ph	ㅍ or ㅂ	9	t, tikut	ㄷ
4	ts	ㅊ	10 +	lr, liur	ㄹ
5	ds	ㅈ	11	m, miun	ㅁ
6	h	ㅎ	12	p, piup	ㅂ
or	'	ㅎ	13	s, sios	ㅅ
or	'	ㅇ	14	j, i, ji	ㅣ
or	'	ㅇ	15	h, hang	ㅇ

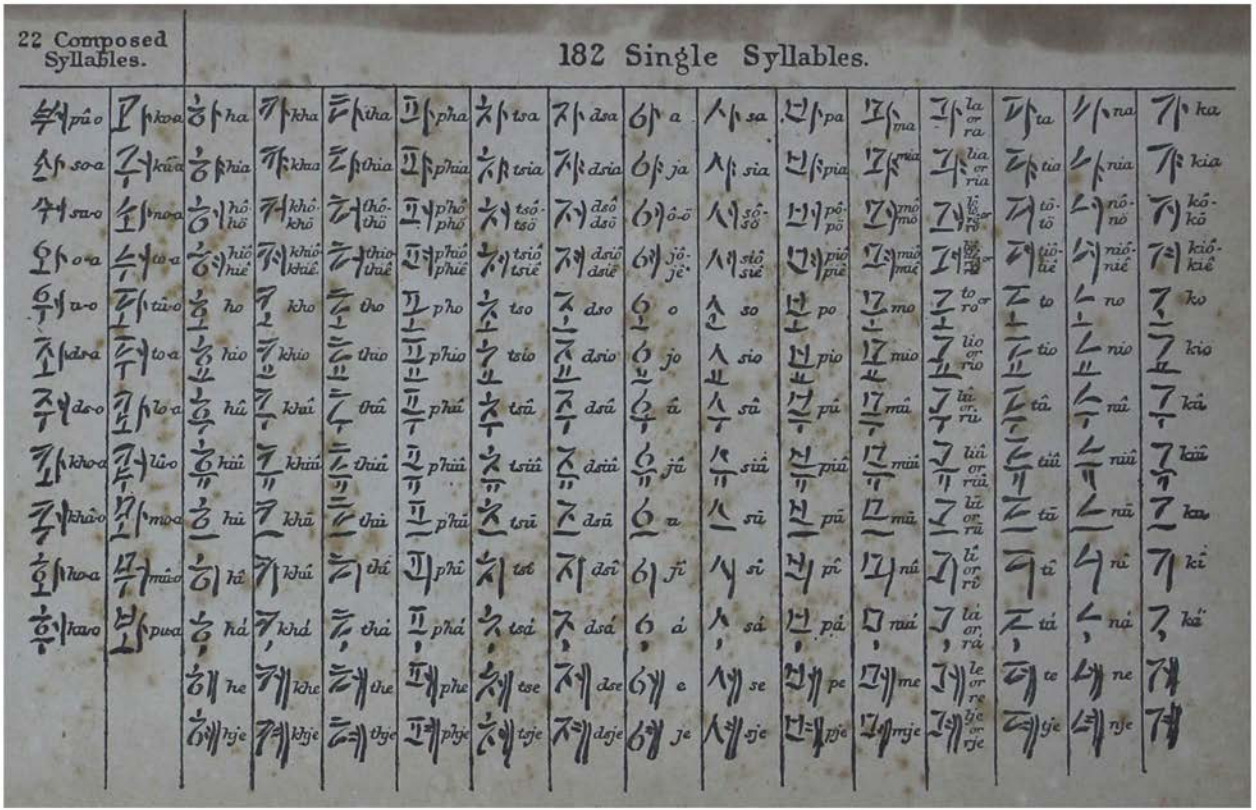
To facilitate the pronunciation of certain Japanese articulations, which are not found in the corean language, the following 5 marks have been substituted.

for	k	ㄱ	g	ㄱ'	1'
'	b	ㄷ	d	ㄷ'	2'
'	p	ㅂ	b	ㅁㅂ	3'
'	'	ㅅ	z pronounce sed (French)	ㅅ'	4'
'	'	ㅅ		ㅅ'	5'

N° 10 + liur pronounced more often r than l

22 Composed Syllables.

182 Single Syllables.



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